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Shkoder Protests Continue; Durres Unrest Reported

Three Opposition Leaders Killed in Shkoder

AU0204190091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1538 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Report by special correspondent Petur Milanov from Tirana by telephone]

[Text] [Announcer] Against the background of the delay in announcing the final, official results of the first free elections in Albania, the tension in the country is escalating dramatically.

Let us hear some more details dispatched from Tirana by our correspondent Petur Milanov in a telephone message. He was a member of the international observers's group in Albania.

[Milanov] The first alarming news reached us from the city of Shkoder in the northern part of Albania. Demonstrations of opposition supporters were held there in front of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] headquarters. The demonstrations started as early as yesterday. Today, when leaders of the opposition party tried to appeal to the crowds through megaphones urging people to observe law and order, shots were fired from inside the PPSh headquarters and from the courtyard. Three people were killed and over 30 people were severely injured.

A similar situation has emerged in other large cities of Albania, where the opposition won the majority of votes in the Sunday elections.

It is sad to say that the three people killed in Shkoder were leaders of the opposition. Their names are Fran Gjergji, Fatmir Berisha, and Diko Kryeziu. As a matter of fact, Fran Gjergji is a member of the leadership of the Democratic Party in Shkoder. It is also sad to say that these people were killed as they were speaking to the crowds through megaphones and were standing with their backs to the PPSh headquarters. They were shot while they were urging people to disperse.

Unrest has also emerged in the port city of Durres. It is expected that by the end of the day the tension will increase both in Durres and in the capital Tirana, where large crowds of people, mainly young people, have gathered in the main streets and squares.

The delay in the announcement of the final election results is one of the reasons for the unrest. The news conference of the Central Electoral Commission which was announced for today has been postponed for the fourth time.

Interior Ministry Issues Statement

AU0204192891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Statement issued by the Ministry of Interior; place and date not given]

[Text] At about 0730 on 2 April 1991, various groups of people gathered in front of the Democratic Party's premises in Shkoder and began to shout various offensive and inflammatory slogans. After this, an organized crowd went to the front of the buildings of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] and the Executive Committee, shouting destabilizing slogans stating that they would seize power by force, etc. A number of people entered the building of the PPSh Committee and threw Molotov cocktails and explosives, burning documents. They seized two automatic rifles from the guards and a pistol from a policemen. Thirteen policemen were wounded, two of them suffered gunshot wounds. Three people were killed and 11 others were wounded. Employees of the PPSh were also beaten and injured, including the committee's secretary.

Activities of Shkoder 'Terrorist Groups' Condemned

AU0204193391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] There were illegal gatherings of people last night and today in the city of Shkoder. In these gatherings, groups of terrorists attacked and set fire to the Albanian Workers Party Committee [PPSh] building and threw stones at the Democratic Party building, shouting the slogan "Shkoder," "Republic," and so forth.

It is perfectly clear to every citizen and true patriot that such destructive behavior has nothing in the least to do with democracy, political pluralism, and the peace and stability that is now so necessary in the times through which the country is passing.

Who needs the forced deployment of schoolchildren on streets, the burning and looting of stores, and the destruction of the sweat and efforts of the people? Who needs shooting by terrorist groups against the forces of order? Who needs deceptive rumors alleging the overthrow of the state in Tirana, the burning of the PPSh Central Committee building, and even rumors involving the character of the president? These certainly do not serve democracy or the country's stability. They only help destructive forces and the enemies of Albania.

Any such act is antidemocratic and antinational, in outright opposition to the will of the people as clearly expressed in the free elections of 31 March. Values of this kind do not serve any truly democratic political force in Albania.

As was stressed in the communique of the Presidential Council and the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Albania now more than ever needs unity and stability.

Whoever trifles with these things trifles with the destiny of the people and will not be forgiven by the people.

Democracy means the rule of law, not anarchy. Many people say this, but few act on it. In this context, the forces of public order are authorized to act by all legal means to prevent unauthorized manifestations and to defend public institutions. Therefore, citizens and real patriots should give practical assistance to the forces of order to help them carry out their duty as well as possible.

Incidents of Shooting, Riots Detailed

AU0204211091 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2014 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Interview via telephone with Austrian radio correspondent Armin Wolf in Tirana by news announcer Robert Hochner—live]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Mr. Wolf.

[Wolf] Good evening to Vienna. Unfortunately, I cannot hear you very well.

[Hochner] I will try again. Mr. Wolf, what is the situation like in Tirana at the moment?

[Wolf] Well, at the moment it is calm but very tense. About one hour ago I went by taxi through the streets in the city center. There were quite a few people in the streets and hundreds of special unit policemen, who are controlled by the Interior Ministry especially for taking measures against demonstrations.

These policemen would sporadically run after people and beat them up. The people fled into side streets; however, no more shots were fired. Shortly before 2100 a helicopter passed over us. This helicopter had been constantly circling over the headquarters of the Democratic Party [PDSh], but no shots have been fired in the past few hours.

Shots were fired for about 15 minutes beginning at 1900; they were fired from the terrace of a building of the communist party [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] that is close by and they were fired toward the PDSh headquarters; however, the shots were fired mainly into the air.

There is, however, a rumor—several people claim to have seen a girl of about 14 hit and said she was taken to a hospital. This is unconfirmed. So far we have been unable to find out in which hospital the girl is supposed to be; however, about five people told me that they saw how the girl was shot and taken away.

[Hochner] Mr. Wolf, was this a peaceful demonstration by the opposition, which was obviously dissolved by force, or was it—like in Shkoder—a massive demonstration, one almost has to say a riot, against PPSh headquarters?

[Wolf] The problem is that it was not a demonstration organized by the opposition at all, but all through the day thousands of people gathered in front of the headquarters of the PDSh to protest the election results on their own. This was not done as a result of appeals by the PDSh. Quite the contrary, the PDSh tried to calm the situation and repeatedly called on the people to go home—obviously because it expected a provocation by the security forces—but the people stayed.

In Tirana there were several thousand protesters all through the day. Around 1900, when the shooting started, there were about 1,500 people there. This was so, as was mentioned in the previous report [on incidences in Shkoder and Tirana], because in the towns the large majority of people voted for the PDSh and the people cannot believe that everything happened correctly in the rural areas, where the PPSh won up to 80 or 90 percent in some villages.

In addition, it is known that there were several small manipulations—nothing major, but small manipulations—and therefore the people do not want to accept the election results and protest against them.

[Hochner] Mr. Wolf, thank you very much for this live report from Tirana via our satellite telephone. Good night.

[Wolf] Good night.

Kavaje Town Center Occupied; Strikes Reported

AU0204212091 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Nicholas Miletitch report]

[Excerpt] Tirana, April 2 (AFP)—Four people were killed and 50 injured in anti-communist protests in the western Albanian city of Shkoder Tuesday, medical sources said, while police violently broke up a demonstration by about a thousand people in the capital Tirana. Among the four killed early Tuesday in Shkoder was a representative of the main opposition Democratic Party, in demonstrations following elections Sunday in which Albania's ruling communist party won a two-thirds majority.

The Albanian Interior Ministry said three people died and 23 were injured, 12 of them police officers. Police had been forced to open fire against armed demonstrators who attacked the communist party [Albanian Workers Party] headquarters and other official buildings, the ministry said, quoted by the official ATA news agency.

Late Tuesday in the capital Tirana police fired in the air and clubbed demonstrators who had gathered in front of the headquarters of the Democratic Party to protest at police repression in Shkoder earlier in the day.

At Kavaje just south of the capital more than a thousand people occupied the town centre while most factory and

schools and colleges went on strike, calling for the departure of the communists. "We are witnessing a hardening attitude" said a Democratic Party leader Sali Berisha in Tirana. "The conservatives are angry at having lost all credibility by losing elections in the cities and winning in the country." Nearly 65 per cent of Albania's population lives in the countryside.

In Shkoder demonstrators set fire to and raided the headquarters of the Communist Party, burning two armoured vehicles and a police truck. But by late afternoon some 300 armed riot police had retaken control of the centre of the city. "We don't believe in communist reforms and and we don't want them any more" said 25-year-old student Telat Puka. [passage omitted]

Opposition Spokesman on Bombs Targeting PDSh

AU0304115491 Paris AFP in English 1143 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 3 (AFP)—A bomb exploded on Tuesday at the home of a local leader of the opposition Democratic Party [PDSh] in southern Albania, and a second bomb was found at a local party headquarters in a central town, a Democratic Party spokesman said Wednesday.

No victims were reported in the explosion at the apartment of local Democratic Party leader Kujtim Lloha in the town of Saranda.

Spokesman Genc Pollo said that a home-made bomb was defused on Tuesday after being found in the local headquarters of the opposition Democratic Party in the town of Elbasan.

In the western town of Shkoder, local Democratic Party official Arben Broci was to be buried on Wednesday after being killed by police in fighting on Tuesday which followed a communist victory in Sunday's free elections.

Opposition leaders said four people were killed in clashes between police and anti-communist demonstrators in Shkoder, while the government said only three had died.

In Tirana, tension continued to run high on Wednesday, and police were deployed in force in front of the Democratic Party headquarters, where over 1,000 people were assembled.

In the embassy quarter, three truckloads of troops were deployed in an apparent attempt to guard against a rush by the population to take refuge in Western diplomatic compounds.

The opposition was expected to make an announcement regarding a possible general strike on Thursday.

People's Assembly Presidium Appeals For Calm

AU0204142791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Statement by the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council issued in Tirana on 2 April]

[Text] The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council held a joint meeting this morning under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Those present at this meeting were informed about the results of the democratic elections of 31 March. Professor Dr. Rexhep Mejdani, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, delivered a short report on this subject. It was stressed that the people's turnout in the elections was virtually total. The elections were conducted in total accordance with the Electoral Law. The results have been accepted by all political forces taking part in the elections.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council were also told about the assessments of the 31 March elections in Albania by foreign observers, official and parliamentary delegations, and representatives of specialized institutes and the press. The delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and the legislatures of the United States and the countries of Europe, and observers who came from dozens of countries of the world considered these elections to be exemplary and fully free and democratic.

Internal Affairs Minister Gramoz Rucaj then reported on the public order situation after the elections. He pointed out that [words indistinct] expressed on the legitimacy of the elections and their results and that there have been illegal gatherings in some towns such as Shkoder and elsewhere. The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council authorized the bodies for the maintenance of order to act with all legal means to prevent unauthorized manifestations and to protect public institutions. They stressed that everybody without exception must bow to the will of the people and the actions of the law. In these gatherings, groups of terrorists in the city of Shkoder attacked and set fire to the building of the Albanian Workers Party Committee and threw stones at that of the Democratic Party, shouting the slogan Shkoder—Republic, etc. The forces of order intervened to reestablish calm.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council issued a call to everybody for prudence and calm. Nobody can impose themselves on the people or correct the expression of their political will. Any such attempt is antidemocratic and antinational. The country needs unity and stability. Anyone who trifles with these things trifles with the destiny of the people, and will not be forgiven by the people. Let everybody return to work.

The only help that can be given to the pluralist democracy that is developing in Albania is respect for the sovereignty of the people, acceptance of the verdict they pronounced in the elections, and the creation of normal conditions for the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Presidential Council called on all political parties and other social organizations to commit themselves to stabilizing the situation, so that the country's life may proceed normally. They supported the public call of the Albanian Workers Party, whose candidates won an absolute majority of the seats in the Assembly, for constructive cooperation among all political forces in the country's government.

The Presidium of the People's Assembly, The Presidential Council. Tirana, 2 April 1991.

Electoral Commission Reports Final Poll Results

AU0204153291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] At 1400, the Central Electoral Commission held its final meeting. On the basis of the electoral reports that have come from all the electoral commissions in the districts, it obtained the final results of the first round of elections of deputies for the People's Assembly. Let us hear Rexhep Mejdani, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.

[Begin Mejdani recording] The Central Electoral Commission for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly, at its meeting on 2 April 1991, after carefully examining the reports from the constituency electoral commissions and finding them in full accordance with the Electoral Law, reports that, for the elections of 31 March 1991, 1,977,516 voters were registered at 5,450 polling stations. The number of voters taking part in the election was 1,956,139 or 98.9 percent of the electorate.

Of the 250 constituencies, elections took place in 249. The elections were not held in Constituency 166 included in the district of Pogradec, because only one candidate remained after the withdrawal of two candidates. On the basis of Article 34 of the Electoral Law, the election in this constituency will be held on 14 April 1991. [Words indistinct] can be held on 7 April.

Following a study of the electoral reports, the results show that in the first round 231 comrades have been elected as deputies to the People's Assembly by the will of the people in a free vote.

According to parties, the results are as follows: The Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], standing in 243 constituencies, has won in 162 constituencies, totaling 64.5 percent of all constituencies—i.e. all 250. In 21 constituencies, the PPSh candidates were joint candidates with the Democratic Front, the Youth Union, the Trade Unions, and the Women's Union.

The Democratic Party [PDSh], standing in 250 constituencies, has won in 60 constituencies, totaling 27 percent. The Omonia Organization, standing in five constituencies, has won in three. The Veterans Association, standing in six constituencies, has won in one.

Because no candidate won an absolute majority in some other constituencies, under Article 55 of the Electoral Law, 17 constituencies move to a second round. In Constituency 142, new elections will be held under Article 67 Paragraph 2 of the Electoral Law, because only one candidate, belonging to the PDSh, won 31.16 percent on the valid votes. In this constituency, other electoral participants have the right to register their candidates.

The Commission instructs the state bodies and the constituency and polling station commissions to conduct the 7 April and 14 April elections in precise accordance with the Electoral Law and the instructions of the Central Electoral Commission. [end recording]

Successful Electoral Candidates Listed

AU0204204891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] We will now read the list of deputies to the People's Assembly who have won in the first electoral round, according to their constituencies and parties [number of constituency in parantheses before each name]:

In Berat District: (2) Pavllo Sotiraq Bojaxhiu, Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]; (3) Perparim Hysni Ruzi, PPSh; (4) Gezim Refat Gurazi, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (5) Kristaq Dhosi Odricani, PPSh; (6) Fatos Xhevair Zotkaj, PPSh; (7) Dhimo Vangjel Dundo, PPSh; (8) Asqeri Qemal Shehu, PPSh; (9) Flamur Musa Abedini, PPSh; (10) Tomor Haxhi Beqollari, PPSh; (11) Fadil Ramo Nasufi, PPSh and the Youth Union; (12) Xhemal Iljaz Dauti, PPSh; (13) Nadire (?Basqar) Prifti, PPSh, the Women's Union, and the Democratic Front; (14) Avdyl Tafil Pilafi, PPSh.

In Diber District: (15) Fehmi Haziz Abdiu, PPSh; (16) Ali Seit Kaza, PPSh; (17) Xhemal Xhavit Gazidede, PPSh; (18) Huzri Ramadan Hoxha, PPSh; (19) Vehap Selim Daku, PPSh; (20) Osman Nezir Murati, PPSh; (21) Fisnik Izet Hyka, PPSh; (22) Xhelil Ali Gjoni, PPSh; (23) Haxhi Halit Lleshi, Veterans Association; (24) Bujar Halil Pata, PPSh; (25) Ahmet Sulejman Kamberi, PPSh; (26) Arif Sefedin Hasani, PPSh.

In Durres District: (27) Bardhyl Mustafa (?Valpeza), Democratic Party [PDSh]; (28) Spiro Vllash Berati, PDSh; (29) Vangjel Petro (?Stamaj), PDSh; (30) Bashkim Basri Kopliku, PDSh; (31) Emin Hamit Musliu, PDSh; (32) Bardhyl Beqet Reso, PDSh; (33) Naim Demir (?Fariqi), PDSh; (34) Sali Rame Berisha, PDSh; (36) Fiqiret Rizvan Hallulli, PPSh; (37) Fatmir Aristidh Mingoli, PPSh; (38) Agron Eqerem Fishta, PPSh; (39) Ibrahim Mehmet Kalemi, PPSh; (40) Pellumb Bajram

Dema, PPSh; (41) Sulejman Bajram Disha, PPSh; (43) Skender Ramazan Dita, PDSh; (44) Petrit Haxhi (?Lastiu), PDSh; (45) Lindita Ylli Prifti, PDSh.

In Elbasan District: (46) (?Alxhir) Jorgji (?Panarifi), PDSh; (47) Neritan Hasan Ceka, PDSh; (50) Qazim Hamdi Radoniqi, PDSh; (51) Daniel Panxhi Karanda, PDSh; (52) Muharrem Ramadan Kajolli, PPSh; (53) Baki Gani Shehi, PPSh; (54) Hysen Shefqet Meta, PPSh; (55) Skender Sali Dubali, PPSh; (56) Haki Selman Hysa, PPSh and the Trade Unions; (57) Ndricim Qemal Hysa, PPSh; (58) Sulejman Qemal Hysa, PPSh; (59) Ismail Zenun Cerri, PPSh; (60) Moisi Veniamin Lushi, PPSh; (61) Xhemal Abaz Qerimani, PPSh; (62) Murat Idriz Jance, PPSh; (63) Ligor Kovi Balla, PPSh; (64) Bajram Ali Kurti, PPSh.

In Fier District: (65) Ylli Sokrat Bufi, PPSh; (66) Drini Bedri Mezini, PPSh; (67) Kristaq Nasi Thanasi, PPSh; (68) Xhorxhi Llambi Marku, PPSh; (69) Anastas Nikolla Pone, PPSh; (70) Ilir Gori Dushi, PPSh; (71) Dhimiter Joti Dhamo, PPSh; (72) Shyqyri Dalip Rexhepi, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (74) Engjell Hair Beshaj, PPSh; (75) Pellumb Laze Shpata, PPSh; (76) Xhevair Hekuran Tahiraj, PPSh; (77) Bardhyl Neki Fasko, PPSh; (78) Faik Resmi Memushi, PPSh; (79) Spiro Petro Lule, PPSh; (80) Bilbil Jashar Jaupi, PPSh; (81) Kastriot Selman Islami, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (82) Xhevair Sulo Bregu, PPSh; (83) Ali Gjysh Lamaj, PPSh.

In Gramsh District: (84) Hysen Tare Godole, PPSh; (85) Ajet Bilal Baci, PPSh; (86) Mecan Kodhel Hoxha, PPSh and the Democratic Front.

In Gjirokaster District: (87) Elvira Hader Shapllo, PPSh; (88) Adil Haki Carcani, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (89) Flamur Shyqyri Cani, PPSh; (91) Jani Kosta Jani, Omonia Association; (92) Panajot Niko Baca, Omonia Association.

In Kolonje District: (93) Shkelqim Islam Cani, PPSh; (94) Sotir Misto Kokeri, PPSh.

In Korce District: (95) (?Petrika Ferit Lininda), PDSh; (96) Natasha Petro Lako, PDSh; (97) Stavro Spiro Frasheri, PDSh; (98) Petro Ilo Kolevica, PDSh; (99) Ilir Spiro Manushi, PDSh; (100) Theodhoraq Vangjel Bello, PPSh; (101) Stavri Thanas (?Kaoco), PPSh; (102) Melazim Haxhi Matraku, PPSh; (103) Ahmet Baftjar Hoxhallari, PPSh; (104) Lutfi Halim Dautllari, PPSh; (105) Bujar Vait Kolaneci, PPSh; (106) Pellumb Tosun Seferkolli, PPSh; (107) Mitro Pando Nedelko, PPSh; (108) Vasfi Ramadan Sherifi, PPSh; (109) Dritero Riza Agolli, PPSh; (110) Gjergji Ndreko Krastafillaku, PPSh; (111) Meleq Neim Gupi, PPSh.

In Kruje District: (112) Saledin Shaqir Bala, PDSh; (113) Sulejman Dervish Disha, PPSh; (114) Fadil Abdulla Daci, PPSh; (115) Gezim Mustafa Haxhiu, PPSh; (116) Hajdar Ismail Sinani, PPSh; (117) Agim Asim Mero, PDSh; (119) Mark Martin Nokaj, PDSh.

In Kukes District: (120) Islam Sinan Gjana, PPSh; (121) Qazim Ali Laci, PPSh; (122) Muharrem Rexhep Mezini, PPSh; (123) Qemal Mustafa Elezi, PPSh; (124) Feim Dervish Tota, PPSh; (125) Namik Hamza Dokle, PPSh; (126) Petrit Bilal Musa, PPSh; (127) Rexhep Ibrahim Ballmi, PPSh.

In Lezhe District: (128) Agron Shaqir Dibra, PPSh; (130) Prec Gjon Zogaj, PDSh; (132) Zef Gjergj Nikolla, PPSh.

In Librazhd District: (133) Zenel Myftar Hysa, PPSh; (134) Refik Isuf Disha, PPSh; (135) Qemal Veli Alla, PPSh; (136) Sami Sadi Kushta, PPSh; (137) Hamit Rexhep Cota, PPSh.

In Lushnje District: (140) Muharrem Nuri Dalipi, PPSh; (141) Xhemal Abedin Nezha, PPSh; (143) Dhimiter Kristo Cili, PPSh; (144) Alim Kadri Cela, PPSh; (145) Themie Andon Thomai, PPSh; (146) Nikolla Vangjel Ndoni, PPSh; (147) Vangjel Jorgji Kokoneshi, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (148) Skender Islam Muco, PPSh; (149) Hajredin Shahin Tahiri, PPSh. [Referent item states that Constituency 149 is in Mat District]

In Mat District: (150) Mehill Mark Kaca, PPSh; (151) Petrit Allaman Cuka, PPSh; (152) Hashim Ismail Zogu, PPSh; (153) Qemal Vehbi Disha, PPSh; (154) Tahir Rifat Osmani, PPSh.

In Mirdite District: (155) Marie Bardhok Biba, PPSh; (156) Viktor Pjeter Doda, PPSh; (157) Ndue Zef Totrri, PPSh; (158) Ndue Ndrec Kaza, PPSh.

In Permet District: (159) Bashkim Belul Xhakollari, PPSh; (160) Halil Gani Hyseni, PPSh; (161) Arqile Nadon Naqellari, PPSh and the Trade Unions.

In Pogradec District: (162) Thoma Jovan Angjellari, PPSh; (163) Dhimiter Mihal Bardhi, PPSh; (164) Feim Xhavit Bardhi, PPSh; (165) Banush Tefik Gozhdari, PPSh; (167) Arif Halil Gerxhari, PPSh. [Referent item states that Constituency 167 is in Puke District]

In Puke District: (168) Nikoll Pal Ndoj, PPSh; (169) Pjeter Zef Dema, PPSh; (170) Fran Pjeter Pjetri, PPSh and the Trade Unions.

In Sarande District: (171) Kosta Anastas Kallojeri, PPSh; (172) Kico Jani Mustaqi, PPSh; (173) Nexhmi Servet Hoxha, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (175) Sofo Foto Thoma, PPSh; (177) Jani [name indistinct] (?Gjybeli), Omonia Association.

In Skrapar District: (178) Ajli Bektash Alushani, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (179) Sazan Jakup Satka, PPSh; (180) Gezim Fuat Cane, PPSh; (181) Enver Kame Naska, PPSh.

In Shkoder District: (182) Nexhmi Seit Shabani, PDSh; (183) Blerim Naim Cela, PDSh; (184) (?Mendun) Maliq Derguti, PDSh; (185) Bujar Qamil Golemi, PDSh; (186) Azem Shpend Hajdari, PDSh; (187) Ali Sulejman Spahiaj, PDSh; (189) Ndoc Nike Kasa, PDSh; (190) Shaqir Bejto Vukaj, PPSh; (191) Cun Jonuz Culaj, PPSh; (192)

Myftar Hasan Mataj, PPSh; (194) (?Kole Lin Tonaj), PDSh; (195) Augustin Zef Shkalqi, PDSh; (196) Pjeter Filip Agnolli, PDSh; (198) Gezim Shaqir Luli, PDSh; (199) (?Toni) Gasper (?Alilgjelaj), PDSh; (200) Francesk Kole (?Monici), PDSh.

In Tepelene District: (201) Gramoz Kaso Ruci, PPSh; (202) Medin Selim Duraj, PPSh; (203) Faik Bajram Cinaj, PPSh; (204) Xhevat Hekuran Sinorukaj, PPSh.

In Tirana District: (205) (?Driton Hasan) Shehu, PDSh; (206) Ylli Mexhid Vejsiu, PDSh; (207) Hysen Mahmut Golemi, PDSh; (208) Napoleon Dhimiter Roshi, PDSh; (209) Arben Sali Imami, PDSh; (210) Mitro Pilo Cela, PDSh; (211) Besnik Bajram Mustafaj, PDSh; (212) Ridvan Edmond Peshkepia, PDSh; (214) Albert Esat Kariqi, PDSh; (215) Teodor (?Endri Pjekaj), PDSh; (216) Tomor Bajram Malasi, PDSh; (217) Genc Tollumb Rruli, PDSh; (218) Franko Gjon Krroci, PDSh; (219) Dhimiter Thano Anagnosi, PDSh; (220) (?Gjinoveta Nesim) Drenica, PDSh; (221) Maksim Anol Konomi, PDSh; (222) Aleksander Gabril Meksi, PDSh; (224) Emanuel Prokop (?Ceta), PDSh; (226) Rexhep Sali Uka, PDSh; (227) Lufter Nexhip Xhuveli, PPSh; (228) Mehmet Hasan Loci, PPSh; (229) Leontiev Skender Cuci, PPSh; (230) Ismail Ymer Lleshi, PPSh; (231) Shane Shefqet Korbeci, PPSh; (232) Pellumb Sulejman Rama, PPSh; (233) Lumturi Mahmut Rexha, PPSh and the Women's Union.

In Tropoje District: (234) Halil Bajram Elezi, PPSh; (235) Lush Martin Perpali, PPSh; (236) Ali Shaban Gosturani, PPSh.

In Vlore District: (237) Gramoz Josip Pashko, PDSh; (238) Roland (?Perlat Asili), PDSh; (239) Kosta Pali Koci, PDSh; (240) Abedin Elmaz Elmazi, PDSh; (241) Gafur Hasan (?Shametaj), PDSh; (242) Petraq Jani Nasaj, PPSh and the Trade Unions; (243) Gagace Refat Bregaj, PPSh; (244) Kostandin Medin Hoxha, PPSh; (245) Sabit Laze Brokaj, PPSh; (246) Pellumb Hysni Kapo, PPSh; (247) Filip (Nasho) (?Thaco), PDSh; (248) Llazar Thoma Gjindali, PPSh; (249) Halil Sheme Hasko, PPSh.

Because no candidate achieved an absolute majority of votes in the following constituencies, under Articles 65 and 66 of the Electoral Law, the following candidates for deputy move to a second round, listed according to constituencies:

Berat District: (1) Fatbardha Skender Polovina, PPSh and the Women's Union, and Abdyl Hasan Barleta, PDSh.

Durres District: (35) Ismet Xhevat Ferizaj, PDSh, and Miri Ahmet Hoti, PPSh; (42) Gaqo Sotir Kristo, PPSh, and Dhimiter Theodor Nino, PDSh.

Gjirokaster District: (90) Jani Rako (?Gjiso), PDSh, and Foto Jorgji Fuqi, PPSh.

Kruje District: (118) Alfred Engjell Sereqi, PDSh, and Pashke Pellumb Marku, PPSh.

Lezhe District: (129) Esat Shaqir Myftari, PDSh, and Nikoll Pal Gjoni, PPSh; (131) Agron Kamber Belishova, PDSh, and Gjyl Rexhep Brahimi, PPSh.

Lushnje District: (138) Bardhyl Qemal (?Stafo), PDSh, and Tahir Idriz Zelo, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (139) Kujtim (?Nasta Gjina), PDSh, and Vasilika Jorgji Hoxha, PPSh and the Women's Union;

Sarande District: (174) Andrea Kosta Verbala, Omonia Association, and Jorgo Stavro Loli, PPSh and the Democratic Front; (176) Alqi Thimjo Stillo, PPSh, and Thoma Jorgo Mico, Omonia Association.

Shkoder District: (193) Hysni Ahmet Legata, PPSh, and (?Behaxhir) Halit Bakalli, PDSh; (197) Kujtim Ramazan Ylli, PPSh, and Vehbi Hamdi Gruda, PDSh.

Tirana District: (213) Sokrat Andon (?Mesuri), PDSh, and Fatos Thanas Nano, PPSh and the Youth Union; (223) Shaban Rexhep (?Menjaj), PDSh, and Zyber Fadil Sinani, PPSh; (225) Banush Mustafa Xhabrahimi, PPSh, and Shyqyri Isuf (?Xhibri), PDSh.

Vlore District: (25) Petraq Arsile Curri, PDSh, and Priamo Spori Bollano, PPSh.

Newspaper Descibes Agrarian Party Program

AU0204125991 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 2 Apr 91

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] The newspaper "PROGRESI AGRAR" [AGRARIAN PROGRESS] writes on the press conference organised by the Agrarian Party in the Palace of Congresses, where it was extensively dwelt on the program of this party. The same newspapers writes on the meeting organised in Tirana between representatives of the Agrarian Party of Albania and representatives of the U.S. State Department.

Plaka Receives U.S. Under Secretary Selin

AU0304113691 Tirana ATA in English 0934 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, April 3 (ATA)—On April 2, the deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, received the undersecretary of the U.S. State Department, Ivan Selin, and the persons accompanying them.

During the meeting they expressed the satisfaction and appreciated the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States of America, as well as the desire to promote and strengthen the Albanian U.S. relations in mutually beneficial fields.

They also voiced the readiness of their government to open as soon as possible the respective embassies in Tirana and Washington and the conviction that this will play an important role on the materialization of bilateral relations.

On April 2, the Deputy Minister Sokrat Plaka gave a dinner in honour of the undersecretary of the State Department, Ivan Selin.

Romanian Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit

Received by Minister Plaka

AU0204125691 Tirana ATA in English 0949 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—On April 1, the deputy foreign minister, Sokrat Plaka, received the parliamentary delegation of the Romanian Republic, headed by Alexandru Benzinceanu, member of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Parliament, who attended the March 31 elections for deputies to the People's Assembly.

On this occasion Sokrat Plaka spoke on the importance of the multiparty elections, on the further deepening of the democratization of life in our country and on its promotion on the road of full integration in the European democratic processes.

After expressing the satisfaction for attending the elections, the head of the Romanian parliamentary delegation said that they noticed that the March 31 elections were conducted correctly and according to democratic procedures and that they reflect the will of the Albanian people.

Both parties spoke on the traditional friendship between our Balkan peoples as well as on the desire for the further promotion of all-round bilateral cooperation and in the framework of the positive processes in the region and in Europe.

Attending the reception was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Romanian Republic in our country, Gheorghe Miku.

Received by Secretary Tozaj

AU0304120491 Tirana ATA in English 0936 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 3 (ATA)—The secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj received in one of the halls of the Presidium of the Peoples Assembly on April 2 the delegation of the Romanian parliamentarians, which came in our country to attend the March 31 elections.

Attending the reception was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania in Tirana Gheorghe Miku.

After underlining the seriousness and correctness noticed in the March 21 elections in Albania, the Romanian parliamentarians handed over to comrade Sihat Tozaj the invitation of the Romanian Parliament for the meeting of the parliamentarians of the Balkan countries due to be held in Bucharest in May.

The reception passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Italian Telecommunications Cooperation To Grow

AU0304121791 Tirana ATA in English 1002 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 2 (ATA)—The PTT [Post Telephone and Telegraph] General Department announced:

Since the connection of our telephone network with the international automatic network until July 1990, the international lines managed successfully with the telephone traffic. Following this time, the telephone traffic from Albania extremely. [sentence as received]

For the improvement of the situation, in cooperation with the Italian firm, Italcable as well as with the Italian PTT Ministry, represented by ASST (azienda di stato per i servizi telefonici), the necessary equipments, a part of which was employed since 10 Mar 3 1991, could be obtained free of charge.

The fact that over the last days of the electoral campaign, when many foreign parliamentarians and reporters came to our country, the quality of the international telephone service improved, is dedicated to the wellwishing aid of the Italcable firms well ASST, which in a very short time, correctly assessing the situation the PTT General Department was in, took measures not only to obtain the supplimentary equipments lacking, but also for their transport from Italy, all these through their expenditures. [sentence as received]

On the basis of the talks conducted with the representatives of Italcable, this cooperation initiated with the Italian party will be promoted in the future by increasing the number of the telephone channels and further improving the international services of the telecommunications services in our country.

President Popov's First 100 Days Reviewed

AU0204221391 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Mar 91 p 1

[Vasil Pavlov commentary: "100 Days After Waterloo"]

[Text] It is a historical fact that Napoleon's second period lasted 100 days and ended with his defeat on the battle field, near a small village called Waterloo in Belgium. From that day on the expressions "100 days" and "Waterloo" became household words in the political vocabulary of mankind. They are used as an assessment and as a synonym for any great disaster.

I am far from comparing Prime Minister Popov with the Duke of Wellington and todays Bulgarians with the Englishmen of that epoch. Nevertheless, who could deny that the so-called "cabinet of hope," firmly clutching the document on the political agreement under its arm, did not inherit an economic situation that was as chaotic as a battle field and a foreign debt (additionally aggravated by the unprecedented moratorium on back payments) whose amount could only be justified as a result of a prolonged war. Considering all these circumstances, it seems that any kind of measure adopted by our ministers should appear to be a deed of great significance for us, and we should almost feel like the victorious Englishmen in the 19th century.

Things are different, however. We are Bulgarians and as such we are coping with our problems in a typically Bulgarian manner. Our methods have their advantages and disadvantages, despite our absolute commitment to observe the regulations prescribed by the IMF, the World Bank, the EEC, and other international institutions.

In the initial phase, as a result of the euphoria following the 10 November 1990 events and the excitement of the election campaign, we wasted an entire year during which two Lukanov cabinets (which could not possibly have obtained the political support they were expecting) killed the idea of an economic reform by their inaction. Second, the radical ministers in the Popov cabinet have to cope with considerable resistance from not only the Council of Ministers and the legialature, but especially by the so-called economic nomenklatura. Third, the cabinet is free to act only within the framework of the capitalists' requests, the clauses of the political agreement, and the agreements of the tripartite commission.

I dare to assert that no other Bulgarian Government has ever worked under such restrictions. If anyone should wonder how, despite all these obstacles, some of the government's initiatives are nevertheless successful, we should remember Mr. Popov's dramatic appeal: "Brothers, do not buy expensive goods!" We should also remember the people's great virtue that was recently pointed out with particular emphasis, namely their stoical resilience. This is a typically Bulgarian feature in overcoming a crisis. We ridiculed the prime minister and we made fun of ourselves, which is also typical of a young democracy. Stoicism, however, even if it is a result of the agreement on social peace, is nothing to be ashamed of and the admiration of the foreigners for our people is not only an act of good manners, considering that the alternative would be a fratricidal clash.

After the first 100 days of Dimitur Popov's government, therefore, we can say that the initial phase has been completed, in spite of everything. We should now expect important bills to be passed that should make the restructuring of our economic system, but also a restructuring of our way of life, possible. This ultimate goal cannot be achieved with stoical perseverance alone. May every Bulgarian find his own motivations for his future industrious efforts and the will for prosperity, so we may await the end of the next 200 days and then we shall see light at the end of the tunnel.

Results of Economic Reform Viewed

AU0304091291 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by Georgi Georgiev, chief expert of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria: "Looking Through A Social Prism"]

[Text] Nearly two months have elapsed since the beginning of the reform in our country. In addition to the economic aspects, the initial phase has its social dimensions. The interest rate policy and price liberalization affected numerous companies and enterprises that were unprepared to work under the new conditions of the initial phase of transition to the market economy. The considerable debts and the poor production quality, the numerous credits accumulated from the past, the lack of financial means for investments, the absence of circulating capital, the severe shortage of raw materials and energy—all these disadvantages placed several production enterprises, especially those of the state-owned branches, in an extremely difficult economic and financial situation.

Production continues to drop. Within the first two months of 1990, as compared with the same period of 1990, the production of commodities dropped by one-fourth. Instead of adopting measures aimed at stabilizing production in accordance with the reform, numerous managements and enterprises tried to overcome their difficulties by reducing their personnel, by prolonging so-called "compulsory" unpaid leave for numerous workers, specialists, and employees, by introducing chaotic, repeated, and not always economically justified price increases. All these circumstances could not fail to involve certain unpleasant consequences in the social sphere.

Open and hidden unemployment increased in an early stage of the reform. In February 1991 alone, the number of unemployed in our country increased by 29,000 people, or by 28 percent. Numerous state-owned companies and enterprises are paying minimal wages and have no sufficient means available for compensation. The number of workers on leave without pay is increasing. The number of available jobs is dwindling dangerously, while new jobs are practically non-existent. All these circumstances have placed numerous

people in a very difficult situation. They are incapable of ensuring their own incomes while the cost of living is constantly increasing.

The repeated price increases have made numerous goods and services inaccessible for the population, while the majority of our people have low incomes. In February 1991 consumption fell more than 2.7-fold compared with December 1990, and dropped approximately two-fold compared with January 1991. Despite this substantial drop in consumption, our population spent approximately 11.5 percent more money for the purchase of goods and services in February 1991.

The compensation planned by Decree No. 8 of the Council of Ministers, which are expected to be paid in March and April 1991, should cover approximately 65 percent of the population's additional expenditures during the January-April 1991 period. Added to the indexation amounts paid within the same period of 1990 and in January 1991, this amount should cover 78 percent of the people's expenditures, but only provided that the monthly consumption by the end of April 1991 should not exceed the extremely low level of February 1991.

Considering the price increase in February 1991, which was three times as high as in December 1990, the nominal working wages in addition to the compensation increased from 2.3 times for the minimum wages to approximately 1.3 times for gross wages higher than 825 leva. The real working wages decreased by approximately 28 percent for the minimum wages to more than 57 percent for gross wages over 825 leva. The situation is similar in the case of nominal and real per capita monthly wages earned by a four-member family with two children in which both parents are working. It is evident that opportunities should be sought for increasing wages and the population's incomes not only through compensations, but through increasing working wages in accordance with the quantitative and qualitative improvement of labor, and with the improvement of production quality and effectiveness.

The aforementioned questions, though representing only a few of the social aspects emerging in the initial stage of the reform, sufficiently illustrate the need to search steadily for a balance between the economic and social aspects of the reform. If this is not done, contradictions and social conflicts are likely to emerge and to obstruct the further implementation of the reform.

BSP on 'Russophobia and Anti-Sovietism'

AU0204121291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Resolution of the BSP Supreme Council issued on 25 March; place not given "Russophobia and Anti-Sovietism Are Acts of Disrespect for the Bulgarian People's History and Mentality"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] supports a policy of developing mutually beneficial international cooperation corresponding with important national interests. Creating a new and democratic Bulgaria is unthinkable without a broad opening toward Europe, the world, and to the modern achievements in the economic, science, technological, and cultural spheres.

Constructing civilized international relations is possible only on the basis of universal principles and norms of international law, equality in the rights of big and small nations, and mutual respect. International peace and security require that the nations show tolerance and maintain peaceful and good-neighborly relations. The ability to preserve all positive and valuable factors in developing relations and the skill to acquire new partners without neglecting old and traditional friends is highly respected and valued in international relations.

The BSP Supreme Council notes with concern that certain political forces and figures, following their doubtful goals, hastily try to erase from the historical memory of the Bulgarian people the feelings of respect, friendship, and recognition, related to everything that the people and brightest brains of Russia and the USSR have done for Bulgaria's freedom, national independence, territorial integrity, and social progress. It cannot be denied that the Bulgarian-Soviet Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was the main guarantee of the country's security in recent decades.

Supporting the establishment of an efficient and comprehensive security system in Europe and the world, we note presently that the political factors of European and regional character are insufficient in themselves to guarantee our country's national security. As a result, bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the USSR will continue to have essential importance. The BSP supports rapidly working out and signing a new bilateral Bulgarian-USSR treaty.

The changes in the world, as well as the radical reforms in Bulgaria and the USSR objectively presuppose restructuring bilateral economic relations on an equal and mutually beneficial foundation.

Fanning anti-Soviet hysteria under conditions of the socioeconomic and political crisis, while we need to a large degree the Soviet raw materials, power sources, and markets to overcome it, is a harmful, imprudent, and self-destructive political line. Bilateral economic relations with the USSR are a crucial factor in implementing Bulgaria's economic potential, and the consequent social security of thousands of people in our country.

Now, when most of the developed countries are fiercely competing for the Soviet market, the line of withdrawal and self-isolation in anything related to relations with the USSR is incomprehensible and cannot be explained by any sensible arguments.

The campaign of artificially implanting Russophobia and anti-Sovietism is first of all an act of disrespect for the Bulgarian people's history, traditions, honor, dignity, and mentality. Desecrating holy memorials, and negating the long-lasting economic, political, and cultural relations with Russia and the USSR, place our people and country in a humiliating and vulnerable position while constructing the all-European home. Ingratitude and abuses are incompatible with asserting universal values in international relations.

The BSP Supreme Council adheres to preserving and developing all positive factors, constructed throughout the centuries by the Bulgarian and Russian peoples, and to enriching Bulgarian-Soviet relations on a new foundation. Such relations correspond to our national interests and are an integral part of our country's foreign policy course, aimed at opening toward the world, and at integration within the European and world security and cooperation structures. We do not intend to idealize Bulgarian-Soviet relations. Their objective, benevolent, and unbiased analysis obviously is needed for drawing lessons and enriching the century-old tradition of contacts between the two peoples, in accordance with the new conditions.

The attempts to discredit the role of the BSP in the country's political life by implanting Russophobia and anti-Sovietism, are a sign of serious political shortsightedness. Noting the Bulgarian people's traditions and feelings and contemporary realities, the BSP is not ashamed to defend everything valuable and useful in our relations with Russia and the USSR. Simultaneously, it will also defend all positive factors in our relations with any other country, that correspond with Bulgaria's national interests.

The BSP Supreme Council is firmly convinced that the last word in Bulgaria's relations with Russia and the USSR belongs to the Bulgarian people. All those who cherish our motherland's future and fate must take this word into consideration.

25 March, 1991.

Opposition Discusses 'Unity in Coming Elections'

AU0304075691 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—Today the BTA learnt that the talks between the leaders of the Bulgarian opposition on its unity in the coming elections are going on. As one of the leaders said, however, the talks were still in a "preparatory stage." Representatives of extraparliamentary forces have also been sounded out.

The most influential opposition coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) were not surprised that the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) will take part in the elections on a separate ticket, as it told the BTA yesterday. The BZNS even hopes to emerge as the most influential party from the elections. The BZNS now holds 16 of the 400 seats in parliament.

Many representatives of the parliamentary opposition see these statements as exposing the true nature of the official Agrarian Party which, though nominally, shared power with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for 45 years. In mid-March, however, BZNS leaders attended the rally of the united opposition in Sofia.

Many observers say this outcome was catalyzed by yesterday's resolution of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party to stay out of the united opposition if the BZNS or, as they prefer to call it, "the Agrarian section of the BCP," is in it. The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party is the largest party in the SDS.

BSP Views Headquarters' Real Estate Property

AU0204201091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1538 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] A briefing of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was held today. Dimitur Yonchev, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council said the following:

The fate of the peaceful transition to democracy in our country will be determined to a great extent by today's National Assembly session. He said this in reference to the decision that the legislature was supposed to adopt today in connection with updating the deadlines of the political agreement.

Mr. Yonchev expressed his concern about the campaign launched against the Grand National Assembly and stated his conviction that the legislature is perfectly capable of adopting the new constitution within two or three months and that this expectation is totally realistic.

Klara Marinova briefed the journalists on the opinion of the BSP legal experts on the question of ownership related to the Party Headquarters in Sofia. According to this opinion, the BSP Headquarters was built on a territory of 15 real estate properties originally belonging to different owners. According to the laws valid at that point in the headquarters' construction, the real estate property confiscated for the needs of public institutions and organizations was integrated into the urban organizational plan of the city after the original owners were duly compensated for their losses.

The former owners have received their compensation, therefore, the BSP considers the real estate plot on which the Party Headquarters was built as its legitimate property, according to the BSP experts' opinion.

The speakers at the news briefing further expressed doubts about the president's prerogative to rename national institutions and monuments. The prerogative was questioned on the grounds that the Constitution does not expressly mention such prerogatives.

According to the BSP legal experts, the prerogatives of the former State Council in connection with the aforementioned function should be taken over by the National Assembly.

City Prosecutor on BSP Headquarters' Arson

AU0204183291 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—The City Prosecutor's Office has initiated a second preliminary investigation into the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council headquarters on August 26, 1990 because it proved impossible to trace all suspected arsonists, vandals and police attackers within the mandatory six-month term.

The first investigation has been completed and an indictment will be filed against the persons whose part in the arson has been proved. The case records on robbery and deliberate destruction of property have been submitted to the District Prosecutor's Offices.

By the end of last October the investigating authorities had questioned 530 persons and 230 more were subject to investigation. A request was made for a two-month extension of the investigation because of the intricacy of the case.

One of the supervising prosecutors said last October that he presumed the raid could have been prepared in advance. He made it clear that there might have been a coup conspiracy.

Foreign Currency 'Injection' for Kozloduy Plant

AU0204204091 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 2 (BTA)—In view of the huge investments needed to guarantee the safe operation of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the 15 million U.S. dollars expected from the government will be merely a foreign-currency injection. But it will help solve certain social problems and prepare four generating units with a total capacity of 1,760 megawatts for the mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in June.

"The purpose of the mission is to find out how the old generating units are being operated and to test their safety. On the basis of its findings, the IAEA will recommend the remodeling or the decommissioning of the units, as is the case in Eastern Germany. In either case we will need hundreds of millions of dollars," Mr. Zakhari Boyadzhiev, president of the Atomic Energy Economic Corporation, explained. Mr. Boyadzhiev advocates the remodelling option "because," he says, "these power generating units could go on in operation. Their service life is 30 years years and they have only been used for 16 and 10 years respectively. On the recommendation of last year's mission the four units have been operating under a special regime. We will use the expected government foreign currency aid to raise the staff's qualifications and to improve the technical and technological control," Mr. Boyadzhiev said.

Zhelev Appoints New Interior Ministry Leaders

AU0204172691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1538 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] According to a number of decrees signed by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, the following changes are taking place at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Major General Lyudmil Asenov Marinchevski has been appointed chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Colonel Chavdar Totev Petkov has been appointed director of the National Service for the Protection of the Constitution.

Colonel Milcho Yordanov Bengarski has been appointed director of the Militia.

Colonel Stefan Georgiev Stefanov has been appointed chief of the Central Service for Combating Organized Crime, Drug Trafficking, and Arms Trafficking.

According to a decree signed by the president, Colonel Petko Petrov Angelov, secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has been promoted to the rank of major general.

The following officials have been appointed secretaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the basis of a decree signed by Dimtur Popov, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

Major General Todor Kostov Boyadzhiev and Colonel Petko Petrov Angelov.

New 'Christian Democratic Community' Established

AU0204205791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1538 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] A Christian Democratic Community [Khristian Demokraticheska Obshtnost] was established in Veliko Turnovo. The movement will join the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

The objective of the new movement is to propagate the ideas and ethical values of Christianity and democracy.

Father Khristofor Subev was elected chief chairman of the Christian Democratic Community.

Atlantic Assembly Delegation Received by Havel

AU0204132491 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK)— Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel voiced hope during a meeting with members of the visiting North Atlantic Assembly delegation that Czechoslovakia will succeed in the search for a constitutional expression of its nations' sovereignty, Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky told CTK.

The North Atlantic Assembly delegation is led by its President Charlie Rose.

They also discussed conversion which, as one of the military-economic problems, complicates the relations between the Czech and Slovak nations. Charlie Rose promised that the North Atlantic Assembly will try to help Czechoslovakia in this respect, Zantovsky said.

A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), led by its President Charlie Rose, ended its two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia tonight and left for Spain.

In the course of the visit, taking place at the invitation of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Chairman Alexander Dubcek, members of the delegation held talks with representatives of the international, military and security committees of the federal parliament and were received by Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier, Federal Minister of Defense Lubos Dobrovsky, and by President Vaclav Havel.

The main item on the agenda of talks held with Czechoslovak officials was arms conversion and problems linked with it. The NAA president has promised help in this respect.

The NAA officials also spoke with their partners about an offer for Czechoslovakia of the association statute with the NAA, which would mean inter alia the right to participation in all NAA important sessions.

Rychetsky Returns From Visit to Canada

AU0304125391 Prague CTK in English 1418 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky returned here today from a ten-day working visit to Canada which took place at the invitation of the Canadian Government.

The aim of the visit was to conduct talks with Canadian experts on constitutional law and to study topical problems of the constitutional setup of Canada. Czechoslovakia is now seeking the optimum arrangement of relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics which form the Czechoslovak federation, and effort is also being displayed to give autonomy within the Czech Republic to Moravia and Silesia. The third major region of the Czech Republic is Bohemia.

During his stay in Canada, Rychetsky together with Czechoslovak Supreme Court Chairman Otakar Motejl and Czechoslovak prosecutor general Ivan Gasparovic visited Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto.

Debate on StB Agents Among Deputies Summed Up

AU0204124691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["ha, jop"-signed report: "An Attempt To Square the Circle; The 14th Joint Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers Continued in Prague"]

[Excerpts] The debate on the reports of the Commission Investigating the 17 November [1989] Events, which was interrupted last Friday [22 March], was resumed yesterday. More than 50 deputies took the floor in its course.

The closing statements were made by Petr Toman (Civic Forum), the commission's spokesman, and Jiri Ruml (Civic Forum), its chairman. The most frequent demand raised in the course of the debate was that for the publication of documents related to screenings. [passage omitted]

In contrast to the debate on Friday [22 March], there were fewer personal statements [by deputies whom the legislative commission mentioned as collaborators of the StB, the former secret police] in one's own defense and more contributions trying to get to the root of the problem. These included contributions that questioned the purpose (and the failure) of the screenings [of candidates for legislative seats] carried out prior to the elections, which could have largely prevented the present situation. Deputy Jiri Pospisil (Civic Forum), for example, described the pre-election screenings as "botched." In this context, P. Toman, the commission's spokesman, mentioned the responsibility of R. Sacher, the then minister of interior. He stressed that the minister had failed to abolish the so-called blockages, which means that access to evidential matter was barred. Deputy R. Sacher sharply protested against the charge of the "pitiful result" of initial screenings and rejected the claim that he had kept deputies' dossiers in a personal safe. [passage omitted]

Some of the deputies who had been named [as StB collaborators] in the commission's report on Friday spoke in the debate. Petr Burian (Civic Forum), who spoke in the debate for the second time, did not rule out that he would resign from the legislature voluntarily in the very near future. Deputy Zdenek Masopust (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) forwent the opportunity to defend himself in public because he is convinced that he had not violated the principle of living honorably. "I am one of those who had met with the devil," he said, adding that "by devil, I mean a situation when man is exposed to a strong temptation to commit evil." Deputies Rudolf Zukal (Civic Forum) and Jan Kavan

(Civic Forum) are determined to respect the stand of the legislature as regards their resignation, provided that this stand is based on an approved legal norm.

Petr Toman, the commission's spokesman, said in his closing statement that the debate had cast doubt on, as well as endorsed, everything that could be questioned and endorsed. He stressed that the commission is not a court and that the commission continues to regard the legislature's resolution No. 94 (of 10 January 1991) on screenings as correct. "Believe me that I found it at times exceedingly difficult not to explode," he said when commenting on the statements made by individual positively screened deputies in their own defense. "When you free us of the vow of silence and declassify the evidential matter, you will see for yourselves." Responding to the charge raised by Deputy Pavol Kanis (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) that the commission had kept the names of Slovak deputies figuring in the [StB] register of files to itself, he said: "We are not like you." According to Petr Toman, there simply were not any Slovaks among the positively screened deputies. He concluded his statement by addressing those present: "Do not be angry if the number of your friends has been falling of late. It may well be that they have merely been charged with shadowing other friends." [passage omitted]

OF Deputy Protests Newspaper Allegations

AU0204124991 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Mar 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Kavan Defends Himself"]

[Text] Prague— Jan Kavan [deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Civic Forum] protested against allegations made by Michael Simmons in the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN in a report on the publication of names of deputies to the Czechoslovak legislature designated as StB [State Security] collaborators. Michael Simmons wrote that in the period in which Jan Kavan had supposedly collaborated with the secret police, "the British press devoted considerable attention to him as an expert on developments in Czechoslovakia, including the dissident underground." Simmons also queried the exclusive nature of the material that Jan Kavan had been able to provide and cited as an example a photograph of Vaclav Havel taken in the prison hospital shortly before his release in 1983. Commenting on these allegations, Jan Kavan told CTK that he had been accused of collaboration with the intelligence service in the period of March 1969 to July 1970, that is, at a time when he was a relatively unknown student leader.

Deputies Call on Barta, Tomis To Resign

AU0204133191 Prague CTK in English 1539 GMT 28 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 28 (CTK)— Moravian deputies in the Czechoslovak parliament issued a statement here today supporting the parliament's decision on the report of Investigation Commission screening deputies listed as collaborators with the former secret police (StB).

The deputies of the Self-Government Democracy Movement—Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) called on HSD-SMS deputies Barta and Tomis who were read in parliament on March 22 as StB collaborators to resign from their seats as it is usual in a democratic society.

The HSD-SMS Deputies' Club doubts whether the Regional Council of HSD-SMS, which voiced confidence in the two deputies, can judge objectively their innocence in view of lacking information. Protection of both deputies is a matter of an independent court.

Dubcek on Drafting Constitutions, Land Bill

AU0304125491 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 01 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek told CTK here today last week's visit to Czechoslovakia of a delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), led by its President Charlie Rose, was very useful and successful.

This is so especially from the point of view of possible assistance from the NAA Economic Committee in restructuring the engineering industry in Czechoslovakia, and especially in Slovakia where conversion of armaments production threatens thousands of workers.

Dubcek told CTK that work on constitutions is complex and requires consensus of representatives of the Czech and Slovak national republics and of political parties and movements.

He stressed the need for synchronization of the preparation of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak constitutions, which are to be drafted by the end of this year. In this connection he warned against raising preliminary conditions and excessive demands, saying mutual trust and goodwill are most important.

Some circles and parties in Slovakia insist on signing a state treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics, which would form the basis for working up the federal constitution. The Czech side had been opposed to it, also for technical reasons because it would mean that the Czechoslovak federation would have first to be dissolved and only then could the state treaty be signed.

But at a press conference last Friday Czech Premier Petr Pithart indicated a formula might be found to comply with the Slovak requirement saying that "a more detailed study of the constitutions of other states shows that the term 'state treaty' is used in them also in other, less clear-cut senses".

Dubcek told CTK he considered it important that also other subjects, not only those represented in the Federal Assembly (parliament) be involved in the drafting of

constitutions. That is why he has met recently with representatives of several parties and other groupings standing outside parliament. He also expects trade unions and other organizations to take part.

Speaking about the bill on land, which started to be discussed by the Federal Assembly last week, Dubcek said it is one of the most important laws. He said the rectification of old wrongs committed during the collectivization under the communist regime after World War II must not lead to new mistakes.

Dubcek said those interested in private farming must be allowed to do so, but added that the good that has been done by agricultural cooperatives should not be liquidated. On the other hand, he favors purification of cooperatives from all that impedes their activity, and supports strengthening of the democratic bases of cooperatives

Trade Unions Talks Expected To Be 'Difficult'

LD0304051191 Prague CTK in English 2106 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told journalists here today that if trade unions insist on the minimum monthly wage of 2,000 crowns [korunas], some enterprises will encounter immense financial difficulties.

Speaking after today's government session devoted to the talks with trade union representatives scheduled to take place tomorrow at Kolodeje near Prague, Calfa stressed that social peace must be preserved in Czechoslovakia.

Topping the agenda of tomorrow's talks will be the "general agreement" approved by the tripartite council on January 28 in support of social peace during the implementation of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia. The tripartite council consists of representatives of the government, employers and trade unions.

The "general agreement" also provides for cost-of-living adjustments of wages as soon as price increases exceed 25 percent, which happened, quite unexpectedly, last February. Government officials fear that if wages are raised accordingly, this will trigger runaway inflation. Therefore, Calfa said today, the government will try tomorrow to secure the trade unions' agreement to changes of some articles of the "general agreement".

Czechoslovak Labour and Social Affairs Minister Petr Miller, who warned in January that the 2,000-crowns minimum wage would cause problems in the economic sphere, today said the talks with the trade unions would probably be difficult. In his view, the hardest problem will be to find funds to finance the social compensatory net.

Calfa Comments Further on Talks

LD0204222791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Jaroslav Skalicky in Prague on 2 April—recorded, Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Text] The federal government met in Prague today before tomorrow's meeting at the Kolodeje chateau with the representatives of the trade unions. Jaroslav Skalicky interviewed Prime Minister Marian Calfa about the results of the deliberations:

[Skalicky] Mr. Prime Minister, what points do you think will be disputed tomorrow?

[Calfa] The agenda of the Kolodeje talks includes a report on the economic situation that was presented by the federal government to the Federal Assembly, as well as a report on the fulfillment of the General Agreement.

I think that we will probably have a lively discussion, both on the first and the second points of the agenda. The first point is, of course, the general report, and therefore there can be different views, but as far as the fulfillment of the General Agreement is concerned, the Federal Government is going to question some points of this agreement, discuss them, and if possible cause them to be changed.

[Skalicky] What points are involved?

[Calfa] Above all the concept of the minimum wage and the concept of its valorization, its link with the increase in the cost of living.

[Skalicky] What is the govenrment's stance on this issue?

[Calfa] The General Agreement is in fact the agreement that was concluded by all the three governments on one side and three representatives of employers and three representatives of the trade unions. Therefore, as only two of us are going to meet on the federal level, it is a wider process, but we are going to embark on it there and present it, and we will strive to give an impulse to comprehensive talks within the framework of those tripartite agreements. In any case, we need social peace, and we really need some sort of an agreement. We are going to explain our reasons, what the impact will be, and we have some arguments to present. I believe that the trade unions will understand, and what matters is that we manage to keep our economy going; establishing a minimum wage, especially in some branches, is causing real difficulties.

If the trade unions really insist that this agreement is fulfilled, then there will be enormous difficulties with payments, especially those shouldered by production organizations but also by organizations financed from subsidies and budget. This is already causing problems today.

Army Takes Over Former Soviet Facility

LD0304164891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army began to take charge of the Soviet Army's complex of 12 warehouses and seven outbuildings on the area of several tens of hectares in Detrichov near Bystrice today. It is one of the last Soviet compounds in Moravia. Each warehouse covers 500 square meters and was used for storing air force ammunition.

1990 Electricity Output Data Reported

AU0204123391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Mar 91 p 2

["hn"-signed report, based on Federal Statistical Office data: "Electric Power"]

[Text] A total of 86.6 billion kilowatt hours of electricity were generated in Czechoslovakia last year, 2.9 percent less than in 1989. The production decline in coal-fired power stations (95.4 percent of the 1989 production volume), especially in North Bohemia (93.4 percent of the 1989 production volume), continued. Nuclear power stations' production, which stagnated last year, accounted for 28.4 percent of total electricity output.

Radio, TV Subscription Fees Up 100 Percent

AU0204141991

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 March on page 2 carries a 100-word "mhr"-signed report stating that television and radio subscription fees are being raised 100 percent as of 1 April 1991 (from 10 to 20 korunas [kcs] a month for radio subscribers and from 25 to 50 korunas a month for television subscribers).

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 March on page 1 publishes a 100-word statement by Jaroslav Jaros, head of the Czechoslovak Television Economic Department, and a 120-word statement by Roman Zuzak, head of the Czechoslovak Radio Budget Department, in which they provide the motives for the above increases.

According to Jaros, Czechoslovak Television had revenues of kcs1.178 billion last year and expenditures of kcs1.555 billion. The difference had to be offset from the state budget. The increase in the subscription fee was inevitable, according to Jaros, because "in the world, state television companies are not subsidized but increase their fees to cover cost increases."

Zuzak, too, cites the increase in operating costs as the reason for the increase. He says that the last increase in the radio subscription fee was implemented in 1969 and that the operating costs in the Czech Republic alone have increased 551 percent since then. Czech Radio required a subsidy of kcs328 million last year. According to Zuzak, Czechoslovak Radio is also preparing unspecified "measures" against "payment dodgers" to raise its revenues.

Calfa on Slovak Economy, Meciar's Personality

AU0304095691 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 29 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Peter Duhan and Milan Richter in Prague; date not given: "The Pace of Economic Reform Does Not Have To Be the Same, But...."—first paragraph is VEREJNOST introduction]

[Text] Our interview took place in the prime minister's study in Prague. We proceed from the premise that it is necessary to maintain regular contacts with the federal prime minister, who is also a member of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council and is one of the people who substantially contributed toward the VPN's electoral triumph in the legislative elections. Our daily has often stressed Prime Minister Calfa's irreplaceable role as one of the significant guarantors of the stability of Czechoslovak statehood and as a politician without whom the federation would be an illusion and Slovakia's justifiable demands would merely be a voice that is ignored.

[VEREJNOST] Mr. Prime Minister, during your most recent visit to Bratislava—to the Mozart House—we attentively followed your discussions with Slovak Ministers Kovac and Filkus. You spoke about economic reform. Despite mutual agreement regarding its necessity, the Slovak ministers not only placed great emphasis on the specific nature of the Slovak economy, but also on the need for a different pace of economic reform in Slovakia. You participated in the negotiations on jurisdiction. We are interested in whether the specific nature of Slovakia and the Slovak economy and the need for a different pace for the onset of economic reform in Slovakia—as compared to the Czech lands—was also highlighted at that time by Slovak political representatives?

[Calfa] I proceed from an a priori point of view that the constitutional law on the federation emphasizes the integrated nature of our economy, an economy that will be managed by a single economic strategy. For example, paragraph 10 contains the following formulation: Drafting the strategy and plan for the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic's economic and social development—including developing science and our involvement in international economic associations, determining the implements for asserting this strategy in harmony with the constitutional law, and the formulation of structural concepts of federal importance—falls under the jurisdiction of the CSFR in the economic strategy sphere. This also certainly applies in the finance, taxation, prices, and banking spheres. It is apparent from this that the entire concept and strategy should be a single one; therefore,

for this very reason, the taxation system, the levy system, the price policy concept, and laws in these spheres have been left within the federation's jurisdiction. From the very beginning we proceeded from the premise that whatever defines our economy as an integrated economy has to remain on the federal level. Of course, we also proceeded from the premise that all jurisdiction of an implementation character will remain on the republican level. This was the basic idea. I have to emphasize that to this very day I have not heard another opinion or another view that this should not be the case; however, I see a problem in how to represent a consistent economy. If we concede that—on the basis of the same rules and the same philosophy—the economy in Slovakia will develop differently, that is, on a different time curve, then we have to concede that one part of CSFR territory may reveal different economic development in the same period. Therefore, we cannot talk about a single strategy, a single tax system, and a single concept. Logic tells us that the process has to take place at the same time. In other words, if some economists imagine that Slovakia requires a different time curve for the onset of economic reform, I will try to understand this, but—at the same time—I have to say that development in the Czech lands also has to fluctuate in this curve. Otherwise, harmony will not be achieved. If the Slovak Government came to the conclusion that economic reform is too accelerated a measure, then the Czech Government has two possibilities: It can accept the Slovak point of view, it can acknowledge its objectivity and, if we proceed from the premise that we want to cooperate, it has to take a compromising step and help Slovakia. Unfortunately, the Czech side—so far—does not see the problem this way. It has no fundamental economic study conducted by Slovak experts at its disposal. We created a Czech economy and, at the same time, we created a Slovak economy. Each of them is given special consideration; they have their own specific nature. However, the specific nature of an economy is not an argument. It is a paradox, but, by our decisions on jurisdiction, we separated both economies, and now there is talk about the specific nature of Slovakia's economy. Until now, we understood the economy in the same way, and no one was bothered by it. It was simply the Czechoslovak economy. As far as I am concerned, "I prick up my ears" when I hear about the specific nature of the Slovak economy. I am willing to accept the theory that a republican economy has its own specific nature. Specific nature as opposed to whom? As opposed to the economy of the other republic, of course. However, this applies equally in both Slovakia and the Czech lands. A specific nature is not an essential trait, but—on the contrary—is a differentiating one. I will resolve nothing by emphasizing them. I will only resolve something by finding a cure for it.

[VEREJNOST] Specifics, specifics.... This word crops up like a magic spell in the Slovak press, radio, and television. The "specific nature" issue is literally being shoved down the throats of Slovak citizens. It bothers us that none of the Slovak economists has yet said in what way the Slovak economy is generally comparable with the Czech economy, the Hungarian economy, the Polish economy, or—for that matter—the Danish economy. We have the impression that its specific nature is indeed a magic spell, is misleading, and is one of the means of purposeful demagogy. What do you think about this?

[Calfa] I would be more cautious about making such formulations. It is impossible to state precisely whether emphasizing Slovakia's specific nature is a means of demagogy. I perceive this as the fundamental philosophy behind economic reform. Look and see for yourselves, the consequences of economic development will be harsh, both in the Czech lands and in Slovakia. I understand the entire issue a little differently. That is, the system of Czech-Slovak relations is conditioned by a national basis. The economy is also conditioned this way. In the Czech lands there are many economists (Zeleny, Matejka, Wagner, Zukal) who claim that the speed of economic reform is not correct—that is, they are claiming the same thing as some economists in Slovakia. These economists are not at all divided according to Slovak-Czech criteria. They concur in their views about economic reform. For example, that a restrictive policy functions in a horizontal manner, that credits are bad, and that we abandoned central interventions too soon. In Slovakia these views are passed off as a cure for the economy's specific nature. This is where the anomaly is. We have heard the view that it is necessary to take interventions from the center into consideration; however, this is not specific to Slovakia. This is only the point of view of one group of economists, including Czech ones. Unfortunately, a greater effect has been achieved by labeling this issue a national issue. Then it can be used as an argument that will unite the whole of Slovakia. The Federal Assembly, however, has come to the conclusion that the strategy for economic reform depends on its speed. I think it is nonsense for this strategy to be subjected to criticism after three months. The initiator of economic reform and the economic miracle in South Korea has said that for one generation to live in comfort, the generation preceding it has to work very hard and very consistently. What do three months mean in this connection? Despite this, the CSFR is upside down. Why? Almost certainly because, instead of real pressure from the pitfalls contained in economic reform, irrational, national, and sociopolitical pressures are at work here. After all, Czechoslovakia is not in a catastrophic situation. No factory has yet gone bankrupt. Jobs are being lost and directors are merrily throwing their employees out onto the street, but are themselves hanging on to their jobs. Who does not want to see this? The federal government only controls a few Army enterprises, part of the communications system, and the railroad. Apart from this, it has nothing. Everything else is being dealt with by the republics. Or is this situation also a specific one?

[VEREJNOST] In this connection, I recall that I was quite taken by Minister Filkus' idea. It is connected with the devaluation of the koruna. Despite the fact that Mr.

Tosovsky talked about being successful in maintaining the koruna's level against the dollar, Minister Filkus is talking about the necessity of revaluing the koruna, in view of the specific situation in Slovakia. What would such a step mean for a single financial system?

[Calfa] We would have to revalue the koruna throughout Czechoslovakia. After all, we have a single currency. If I want to revalue the koruna in view of the specific situation in Slovakia, and the Czech side does not want this, then I can see only one solution: one currency in the Czech Lands and a different one in Slovakia. I am really dissatisfied. No one from Slovakia has yet appealed to the Czech Republic for reform to have a slower pace. I would consider this to be logical; therefore, I suspect that something else is involved here: One specific situation requires another one, and it is already separating from it. These are unequivocal steps for me; therefore, I am asking whether we will manage to prevent such a development. It is arguable whether the word prevent is correct, because stating that the economy would be more efficient if it were a joint economy is arguable if the meaning of the word joint is understood differently. In my opinion, when two forces unite, this does not only mean counting two forces. In my opinion, a third force—stronger because of the union—is created. Otherwise, it has no significance. I come, then, to the conclusion that "joint happiness"—living without one another—is also an alternative for many people.

What is reality like? The demon of the wicked federation is successfully operating in Slovakia. A federation that is perceived as Czech and not as Czechoslovak. If for more than six months the federation is described at every opportunity as the originator of all that is evil, then it sticks in the mind. We know from history that a lie repeated 100 times becomes the truth. Symptoms oriented toward the state's dissolution are on the increase. This is a terrible thing to think about. Terrible for me personally.

[VEREJNOST] Within the framework of Czech-Slovak relations, Prime Minister Meciar has certainly played an important role. On the one hand, he has been spontaneously dignified and, on the other, he has been spontaneously repressive. This is the type of politician he is; however, spontaneity is only a kind of emotion. You are also a politician. What was this man's real role during a stage that we could call the reconstruction of the federation's principles, and what role does Prime Minister Meciar play today?

[Calfa] I do not want to and I cannot deny that until recently Prime Minister Meciar's role has been extraordinary. He was the driving force, for example, as far as the division of jurisdiction was concerned. This is evident and demonstrable. However, I also have to say that he does not always play a fair game. Right at the very beginning of the complicated negotiations on jurisdiction, he presented himself to us as a man who had a mandate from the Slovak Republic Government, the Slovak National Council, and the VPN movement. We know today he did not have this. In fact, we knew it at that time, but we understood Prime Minister Meciar's stance to be an element of his tactics. It is necessary to mention these tactics: Prime Minister Meciar subordinates his tactics to his own perception of the struggle for power. Obviously, he supports the theory that everything is permitted in the struggle for power. He is certainly knowledgeable about psychology and knows that no one asks the victor anything. Quite simply, the victor is only lauded. It is necessary to recognize that such a course of action is acceptable in Slovakia; however, I can unequivocally tell you that such an individual would not stand a chance in the Czech lands. Mentality, historical development, and traditions are certainly different. For Czechs he would have to have more in his talons than mere emphasis on statehood. This is a weak argument for Czechs, and Prime Minister Meciar has no other argument. He constantly emphasizes nationalist aspects; not economic or political ones. The nationalist aspect is absolutely acceptable in Slovakia, and I think this is the reason why Mr. Meciar chose it. As far as he is concerned, this is a carefully selected method of political struggle. The Slovak nation is keenly aware of the emphasis on nationalist aspects. I do not deny that a substantial role is played here by Slovaks' desire for the fulfillment of their own statehood. This is even historically justified. This desire is simply encoded in the genes of many generations; however, I am aware of a huge paradox in relation to myself. Many people in Slovakia suspect me of not feeling as Slovak as Prime Minister Meciar. On the contrary, I perceive this feeling as an aim and a purpose that is a natural element of Slovak national pride and awareness. However, I have a right to ask a different question: What will happen if Slovak statehood becomes a reality? Today we have constant problems with jurisdiction. What will we resolve in the federation's attitude toward the republics? Jurisdiction, jurisdiction, jurisdiction! In Slovakia this is effective because the nationalist aspect is also involved; however, what will the consequences be? Economic reform is in second place; there is no feedback. Instead of concentrated work, everyone is politicizing. I do not even want to think about whipped-up passions when the constitutions are brought up. After all, we make a living from our own work and not from making fiery speeches. From time to time, it is necessary to confront these speeches with reality.

[VEREJNOST] Slovaks are convinced, however—as opposed to Czechs—that economic reform means their social security will be endangered. So far, populism is more successful....

[Calfa] When he returned from the USSR, Prime Minister Meciar stated that he had secured 100,000 jobs. However, where exactly are these jobs? Perhaps those enterprises producing goods for the USSR will not go bankrupt? I think it is wonderful for Slovaks that the problem of unemployment has, in fact, been solved. Citizens in East Slovakia are saying that there is huge unemployment here and that this is a consequence of

economic reform. No. There would have been unemployment in this region under any circumstances. What has been done to ensure that jobs have been secured? Nothing. These are the facts. It is enough for him to make a statement and everyone believes him. One hundred thousand jobs is a strong argument; however, they have to be substantiated. We have to place goods worth 2.5 billion [currency not specified] on the Soviet market. If Prime Minister Meciar could create the abovementioned jobs, the problem of our exports to the Soviet market would be resolved. Do you think the situation can really be settled by one visit and by one statement?

[VEREJNOST] If this is the case, it could have very tragic consequences.

[Calfa] It will not only be a tragedy for the Slovak nation, it will also be a tragedy for Czechoslovakia. The mob accepts a mere statement. However, the same mob will ascertain that the statement is like a rocket that has just been launched. A wonderfully bright glow with lots of sparks, but when it is extinguished, there is only darkness; nothing remains.

[VEREJNOST] We know that you support our daily, and we assume that you read our interview with Jan Budaj. Within the context of the situation in the VPN movement and within the context of both platforms' crystallized positions, what do you think of his replies to our questions?

[Calfa] I know Jan Budaj from the memorable negotiations on the composition of the government in December 1989. He sat at the side of President Havel. Finally, we entered the elections together as VPN candidates. I think everyone, including Jan Budaj, did a great deal of work. This was confirmed by the election results. Now a bomb has exploded. It exploded in the form of Minister Knazko's speech on television; however, I think this issue involves a struggle between the platforms within the VPN. Perhaps it is really more of a personnel struggle and, if this is the case, I think the VPN has a chance of retaining the same form it has had until now. I think Jan Budaj is making a sincere appeal for the movement not to break up. This is an appeal for cooperation between both platforms. His appeal is extremely valuable. I also acknowledge it. It is acceptable to me because Slovakia is worth the dispute's protagonists reaching an agreement. Czechoslovakia is worth it. Dividing the movement, unfortunately, also divides the federation. This is not only a Slovak affair. It is an affair within the VPN, but it has a nationwide impact. Perhaps it has more than a nationwide impact. I would like the issue to be resolved within the framework of the VPN. In my opinion, Jan Budaj's appeal is an appeal to reason at the appropriate moment. People should consider whether their positions are to the movement's benefit. If we succeed in this, we could do a great deal of work and could demonstrate our vitality, stature, ability, and capability to resolve the issue by political means. If we do not manage to do this and the movement splits, I am very much afraid that it will substantially increase the real possibility of the division of Czechoslovakia.

[VEREJNOST] Thank you for the interview.

Pithart Comments on Problems With Slovakia

LD0204225791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, last week you unexpectedly met Mr. Prime Minister Meciar....

[Pithart] This was unexpected for me, too. Mr. Meciar indicated that he would like to talk to me and suggested that he would fly to Prague. One could see that he attached great significance to it. Naturally, I accepted his proposal. The visit took place the very same day. It lasted about three hours. It was on Maundy Thursday.

[Reporter] Naturally, in the press and in our newscasts, only the basic report about your meeting appeared, accompanied by your very basic statement. Can you tell us some details of this meeting?

[Pithart] Mr. Meciar did not come with any actual proposals, and that is why we did not have talks in the proper sense of the word—in other words, we did not agree on anything. Mr. Meciar told me about his feeling that Czech-Slovak relations are not developing well, which is no doubt true. It is also true that between the governments of the two republics, no direct contacts have taken place for a few weeks. At the same time, as we know, a number of things have taken place which, in my opinion, have distanced the two national communities. I think that Mr. Meciar sees it in this light too, and I think that he realizes what unfortunate results this could have for the coexistence of the two republics in a joint federation. In his view, it would be suitable to renew the Czech-Slovak and the Slovak-Czech dialogue.

[Reporter] And in your opinion?

[Pithart] In my opinion, a dialogue is always better than journalistic squabbles.

[Reporter] Can you tell us what personal attitude you took during the meeting?

[Pithart] Yes. I want to stress that it was a personal interview, maybe even too personal. I reminded Mr. Meciar that some statements delivered from the Slovak side do not exactly favor a dialogue. I have in mind the statement of Mr. Minister Knazko, namely that the competence bill was only some kind of a cosmetic job. Such an assessment belittles the entire bilateral effort that preceeded the passing of the amendment to the constitutional law, and in the main it belittles the federal

legislature. If we want to have a parliamentary democracy, we must not belittle its most important instrument—that is, the highest body of political power of all the citizens of the fedeation. I also asked Mr. Meciar about his talks with the Soviet generals in connection with the Slovak arms factories.

[Reporter] Did Mr. Meciar explain it to you?

[Pithart] Yes, he did, but he did not talk with any Soviet generals at all. In his view it was a joke. When he returned from Moscow he was inundated with questions. He viewed some of them as full of mistrust. He says that he got angry and therefore reacted with this fabricated story. The participants in the meeting where this took place—I think it was in Martin—allegedly laughed at it, but journalists and press agencies took it seriously.

[Reporter] Do you personally consider it a credible explanation?

[Pithart] I do not exclude that this could have been the case. I experienced similar things several times myself. For example, when the war in the Persian Gulf started, I spoke on television about the need to guard important objects. I said jokingly that, unfortunately, we did away with the people's militia so we will now have to seek other solutions. Some viewers did not notice that I was trying to be funny and took it seriously. The weekly FORUM qualified it at that time as the biggest political somersault of the week, and the reader who drew attention to it was even rewarded; I do wish her well. It appears that we have not learned to help each other by humor, not even in politics. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What conclusions emerged from your meeting?

[Pithart] The meeting did not bring any actual conclusions. It was just some kind of a mutual probing after all that happened in the meantime. We both assured each other that the present situation in Czech-Slovak relations does not appeal to us. I did not conceal the fact that the Czech public is apprehensive over events on the Slovak political scene. Mr. Meciar understood this. I pointed to the fact that the existence of the federation can be threatened, but my Slovak colleague knows this without my reminding him of it. I also said that the citizens of the Czech Republic care about the federation, but not at any price. We both agreed in saying that the matter will be helped by more open and frequent contact between the representatives of the republics and also, naturally, representatives of the organizations of the federation.

[Reporter] The interview granted by Mr. Prime Minister Meciar to MLADA FRONT, which was pubished today, says, I quote: Only the Czechs can force us to the Slovak state, not even the Czechs because the rank-and-file citizens do not want it—only the Czech politicians can. What have you to say to this? Is it true?

[Pithart] It is not true, and it cannot be true. If there is a relationship between two subjects, and if one of them is not silenced, the appearance of this relation is always the work of the two sides. This is the case between the Czechs and the Slovaks, between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted] In this case, I reject the maneuver of this kind on the part of Mr. Meciar as completely unacceptable, as unfair. If it was valid, the Slovak politicians would have completely free hands, they could say and do what they like without any consequences, because it would be clear from the very beginning that only what succeeds will be ascribed to their credit. All failures and disasters will be automatically ascribed to Czech politics. And that will not do. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, sometimes you find yourself in awkward situations when you hear various views in various factories, various institutions. Depending on who you talk to, the people in question claim that you agree with them and use your words when arguing about their affairs. I think that the situation in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY is the latest model example of this.

[Pithart] It would be good if they explained it in good faith with me being on their side. Sometimes I worry that they misuse the fact that constitutional officials know about the matter and that, as a rule, they have an opinion about it. But if they really act as constitutional officials, then they must beware of interfering in the responsibility of others. They cannot influence the decisionmaking of those who are truly legally responsible. In the case of the last dispute, I pay great attention to not influencing it, because that is not in my authority. I have no right to decide in the dispute in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY on the basis of my personal sympathies.

Sometimes even worse things are involved. I can give an actual example. It happened that for a long time in the aircraft factory at Kunovice, they were making up their minds whether to cooperate with a General Electric factory producing engines or with the Canadian factory [words indistinct] which also produces engines. I went to a preelection meeting there, I had no idea about these engines or these firms, and then a deputy came to see me and said—Mr. Prime Minister, I find this difficult, but I hear that you are personally involved in advocating General Electric. This angered me a lot. I have a feeling that someone played very unfair. It seems that he misused the notion that nobody will have the courage to ask me, because I really have no right to decide upon these matters, and if I did I would infringe upon something very important. And then there would be a reason to fear me or to be afraid of asking me about it. So I pray you, all of you who have doubts in similar situations, ask me or some other constitutional officials. [passage omitted]

Meciar Denies Secret Arms Talks With USSR

AU0304125191 Prague CTK in English 1706 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Rome April 1 (CTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has denied in an interview for the

Italian press agency ANSA that he had secret talks with Soviet generals during his mid-March visit to the USSR on sales of Slovak-made arms to the Soviet Union.

Meciar said he only made an ironical remark on the alleged talks but the Czech press interpreted it as admission of something that has never happened. He added: "If I had conducted such talks I would not certainly speak about them before 10,000 people, including journalists".

"During my trade talks in Moscow I said the program of conversion of our armament industry can cause us huge damage, and I requested expansion of goods exchange in other spheres of production," Meciar told ANSA.

The question of arms sales is one of the issues to be investigated by a Slovak parliamentary commission set up on the initiative of the Public Against Violence movement (VPN) after Meciar and his supporters broke away from VPN at the beginning of March and formed their own platform "For Democratic Slovakia" in the movement.

In the ANSA interview, Meciar confirmed he sought in the Soviet Union stabilization of direct contacts between Slovakia and various republics and regions of the Soviet Union, but exclusively on an economic level.

The premier said he was an object of a campaign of disinformation organized by central bodies in Prague in response to Slovakia's effort to follow its own path of democratization, including economic life in its territory part of which are contacts with foreign countries.

Pittner Claims West Financed Assault on Havel

AU0204123691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Mar 91 p 2

["rd"-signed report: "Intelligence Services? No Comment!"]

[Text] Prague— "Federal Interior Minister Engineer Jan Langos does not intend to comment in any way on the statements of Slovak Interior Minister Engineer Ladislav Pittner," Martin Fendrych, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Interior, told us yesterday. In an interview for the weekly RESPEKT, Minister Pittner said that the incident that occurred at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava on 14 March [when a group of demonstrators for Slovak independence assaulted President Havel] had been prepared and financed by Western intelligence services, which, moreover, made use of former StB [State Security] members to this end. In the same interview, Minister Pittner claimed furthermore that evidence for everything can be furnished by means of agency reports recorded by our intelligence service. Let us point out that, for the time being, Mr. Pittner uses as his argument only information obtained from agency reports. This means that this could be primary information that is not corroborated from other sources.

Kucerak: Land Not To Be Returned to Traitors

AU0304125091 Prague CTK in English 1817 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 31 (CTK)—Slovak Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak said on television tonight in connection with the bill on land, which started to be discussed by federal parliament this week, that land will not be returned to traitors and enemies of the Slovak nation.

Last Tuesday, the Slovak Government rejected a draft amendment to the bill on land providing for the return of the land confiscated in 1945 to Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians and collaborators with the Nazis.

Kucerak said the bill only concerns those citizens who were unjustly labelled as traitors and collaborators—they are to be compensated, and the land which was confiscated illegally. [sentence as received]

The deputy premier appreciated his talks yesterday with Slovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky on possibilities of holding an international conference on East-West relations. The conference should better acquaint Europe and the world with the whole Czechoslovak Republic and also with Slovakia, the smaller of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia, and help build confidence between citizens from various states, Kucerak added.

SDL Chairman Interviewed on Constitutional Setup

AU0204091291

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 March on page 7, under the headline "It Used To Be Lenin, Now It Is the Nation," publishes a 1,500-word interview with Peter Weiss, Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] chairman, by ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY reporter Petr Novacek. The date of the interview, which took place in Bratislava, is not given. Weiss describes the party membership as follows: "The pre-November Communist Party of Slovakia had 450,000 members, there were 192,000 last June, and now, after the 'dead souls' left, the membership is approximately 60,000 to 70,000. Regarding our support, our data is not objective enough for me to be able to claim its growth, but our popularity certainly is not declining."

Asked about the party's cooperation with the Slovak National Party, Weiss first insists on differentiation. According to him, "the Slovak National Party as a whole is not extremist," only some of its members are. Moreover, according to Weiss, his party is among those believing that "a good coexistence with the Czech people is more advantageous for the Slovak nation than independence would be." Weiss reports that the collaboration between the two parties occurs on the level of local

administration; there are only unofficial contacts between the leaderships. "There is no way that one could speak of a coalition or a partnership."

The split within the Public Against Violence movement is, according to Weiss, a natural internal differentiation. His party prefers Meciar to Gal, not because of his personal qualities, but because they favor Meciar's "support of justified national interests." Weiss does not expect that the split would result in a breakup of the government coalition. If it did, however, he believes that the Party of the Democratic Left would do at least as well in early elections as it did in the local elections.

In reply to a question about his party's reaction to the declaration of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, Weiss says that there is nothing wrong with it. "After all, one must realize that sovereignty is different than independence of Slovakia!" He and his party support a national-type of federation.

Regarding the proposal of the Christian Democratic Movement that a state agreement between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic should precede the adoption of the constitution, Weiss says that it is one of the possibilities, just like the constitutional agreement, his party favors. The question of a referendum on the Czech-Slovak relationship is a rather complex one, for a lot depends on the way the question is phrased. He believes that most Slovaks are for the federation, "but it must be a proper one."

Slovaks Deny Water Diversion to Gabcikovo

LD0204225191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Without the agreement of the Hungarian partner, the water of the Danube will not be diverted to Slovak territory to operate the turbines of the Gabcikovo power station. This is what our reporter Evelyn Forro heard this evening from authoritative Slovak Government circles.

[Forro] A deputy minister of the Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy said that work will not begin until they have had discussions with the Hungarian partner. According to preliminary plans (Ferenc Mazuk), responsible for the Gabcikovo water barrage, and V. Meciar, Slovak head of government, will meet in the second half of the month. The Slovak deputy minister, who today happened to have discussions with Hungarians, did not at the same time deny that preparations are in hand for divertng the water of the Danube to Slovak territory, but he did not give further details. One of those attending the discussions informed Magyar Radio that (Ferenc Mazuk) had already made inquiries about the matter earlier, and the Slovaks informed the Hungarian partner that the reports of the beginning of construction of the diverting canal are not true.

Today in Bratislava PRAVDA information also appeared from which the beginning of the building works could be deduced, though the wording was ambiguous.

Foreign Ministry Hails Pact Military Dissolution

LD0204214591 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty's military organization, which ended on April 1, is an event of historical significance. As the past has ended, we can now turn our attention to creating relations based on new foundations and facing contemporary realities and the European requirements, said Janos Herman, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, detailing the Hungarian position in response to a question by MTI's correspondent.

Herman said the "last stage," that is the complete disbanding of the Warsaw Treaty, should, at the latest, take place by the Helsinki follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the spring of 1992. Hungary supports the proposal of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to hold the next session of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in the middle of the year.

The spokesman recalled that the process of working out bilateral agreements, which form the new bases of relations, has already begun in the East-Central European region. Hungary sees the co-operative security system as the totality of bilateral contracts and full respect for the international legal and political commitments, Herman said.

Army Commander Lorincz Voices Desire To Resign

LD3003140691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Both NEPSZABADSAG and MAGYAR HIRLAP report that Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian military, has asked to be released from his post. According to well-informed circles, behind the resignation is the statement by Defense Minister Lajos Fur a week ago that the military commandership is a figurehead on the Army's body. From the comment, many people draw the conclusion that the ministry, and through that the government, wants to strengthen its influence over the military. The present Constitution places the military under the command of the president of the Republic.

Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz has worked in his present post for seven years.

Goncz Turns Down Resignation Request

LD0204142191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Arpad Goncz has not accepted the request by the commander of the Hungarian Army to be relieved from his post. This was announced by the leader of the Military Office of the president of the Republic. Kalman Lorincz handed the letter containing his request to Defense Minister Lajos Fur on Friday. Arpad Goncz received the letter today.

Lorincz To Continue as Army Commander

LD0204152891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Kalman Lorincz, the present commander, will continue to direct the Hungarian Army, because following discusions with the defense minister the president of the Republic did not accept the request from the lieutenant general to be relieved of his post.

Arpad Goncz, who is also commander in chief of the Hungarian Army, continues to require the work of Kalman Lorincz, because in view of his military expertise and leadership qualities he is suited to fulfill his post. The head of the Army Office of the president of the Republic said that at the private meeting of Arpad Goncz and Lajos Fur they stressed that the Army cannot be the battleground for parties. The claim to the effect that a dual leadership has developed, which will prevent the implementation of the new defense concept, is also mistaken.

Antall Voices Confidence in Lorincz

LD0204220691 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The press office of the Prime Minister's Office forwarded the following communique to the Hungarian news agency MTI on Tuesday:

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Tuesday received, in his offices, Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Army. In agreement with the minister of defence, Antall ensured Lorincz of his confidence, and reconfirmed the earlier position of the minister of defence, according to which he does not agree with the resignation of the lieutenant general.

In accordance with the constitutional law decrees, and in view of the fact that the appointment and relievement of the commander of the Army requires the countersignature of the prime minister, Antall forwarded the resignation request to the president of the Republic.

The talks between the prime minister and the commander of the Army dealt with the roots of the problems that have come up, with professional issues of the Army, and the means of cooperation for the future.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Domestic Situation, Tasks

AU0204141691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 91 p 6

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, independent parliamentary deputy, by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "Our Goals Have Been Misinterpreted—Imre Pozsgay on the Possibility of A Seventh Parliamentary Faction"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] One year after the parliamentary elections, Imre Pozsgay gave an interview in which, among other things, he expressed his opinion that a political crisis was

emerging in Hungary and that the public was increasingly losing confidence in the Hungarian National Assembly. Imre Pozsgay also said that he did not exclude the possibility of a seventh parliamentary faction.

[Pogonyi] You wrote the following lines in a recent article: "I am again preparing to do something because I know that there are a lot of things to do." You also quoted [Hungarian poet] Endre Ady: "Our goals are misinterpreted." The first quoted sentence is very allusive. The other quotation is very nice. What are you preparing for, Mr. Pozsgay?

[Pozsgay] Indeed, the aforementioned quotation from Endre Ady is very nice, while the quotation from my article is allusive because this article could only contain allusions. A few months have already passed since I became independent and declared my intention to gather information, and my conviction that there is a place for a center party has only increased. Besides, I already felt this need when I left the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. I am now trying to find a way to fill this center, or the existing gap.

[Pogonyi] A few months have passed since November, however, and one can hardly see anything of the planned center party.

[Pozsgay] A political crisis has been emerging since November in addition to the prevailing social and economic ones.

[Pogonyi] In your view, what is the reason for this political crisis?

[Pozsgay] Although we have a freely-elected Parliament, it is increasingly losing the confidence of the Hungarian public. Something similar happened to our government, too. Hungarian political life is heading toward full polarization even before making decisions on fundamental issues that require general consensus. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] What can be done? What are you preparing to do?

[Pozsgay] I would not prefer elections to be too early, and I am even more convinced of this after the trauma of the by-elections held on 24 March. I fear that an apolitical society is emerging in Hungary. It is enough to strike a single symbolic match in such a society to blow things up. In fact, this would serve a political dictatorship rather than democracy. Elections should be avoided for a while in the current situation, but I can imagine some reorganization within the National Assembly.

[Pogonyi] What kind of reorganization do you have in mind?

[Pozsgay] Irrespective of their party affiliation, center-party oriented deputies might decide to carry out an independent policy.

[Pogonyi] In other words, are you thinking about the creation of a seventh parliamentary faction?

[Pozsgay] I do not exclude this possibility because the current parliamentary movements firmly show this trend. In the meantime, our society should provide organizations, associations, and corporations coming from below. Opportunities and patterns should be given for this, but one should refrain from advertising cliches coming from above. These organizations could serve as the basis of the new center. I condemn any political movement that wants to make political gains out of increasing discontent in our society, because those who are living in most difficult conditions need calm. A center party would serve this goal, namely to provide a basis for the people's need for security. Naturally, correct right-wing and left-wing politics also have a place here. [passage omitted]

Minister Kadar Queried on Crisis Management

AU0204143991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Mar 91 pp 1,9

[Interview with International Economics Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Ilona Kocsi; place and date not given: "Bela Kadar on Crisis Management"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] "The government has to accept responsibility for the things that are happening in this country. There are tasks that the government cannot pass on...." These statements were made by Bela Kadar at a news conference held last week, where the minister also spoke about the danger of a collapse in Soviet-Hungarian trade. This statement and various other reports lead us to believe that there is some difference in opinion concerning the extent to which the state is compensating for the bankruptcies that have resulted from the decrease in Hungary's trade with Eastern Europe. In fact, is the state compensating at all? What duties are involved in the much heralded "social market economy" slogan? We asked Bela Kadar about Hungary's recommended foreign trade strategy.

[Kocsi] From a foreign trade point of view, 1990 was perhaps Hungary's most successful year over the last four decades; yet, everything seems uncertain.... It looks as if the recession in CEMA trade took the country by surprise.... Perhaps last year's foreign trade and financial successes were not based on lasting elements....

[Kadar] Experts have been fully aware of the broad crisis that has developed in Eastern Europe for a long time now. This crisis has atrophied international relations. Nothing unexpected has happened, we have been preparing for the handling of this serious situation. At a parliamentary hearing, prior to the formation of this

government, I outlined the dual aims of our foreign trade strategy. On the one hand, we have to maintain as much as possible from our Eastern trade, albeit on a new basis. On the other, we have to carry out our market changes.... [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] It is said that you are opposed to an economically non-interventionist state.... The Finance Ministry, however, would prefer to let market forces play.

[Kadar] That is an over-simplification; you are using meaningless cliches. There is absolutely no doubt about the fact that we should have a market economy. We differ in our assessment of the power relations in Hungary's economy, which is why we come to different conclusions; however, it is not too late, and our viewpoints may come closer to one another. Last year's economic boom influenced our successes; the boom was a temporary factor. In the same way, 50 percent of the increase in our 1990 exports can be attributed to various credit preferences, tax rebates, and basic onerous state allowances featuring in Hungary's former export competition system. This variant was abolished at the end of 1990, yet it created a commodity supply that lasted until this year—it may even last until the beginning of 1992. However, in the meantime, we have to think of another solution.... Over the last two or three years, Hungary's economy has been marked by an abnormal drop in innovation and investment, and several distinguished members of intellectual workshops have started to leave the country. Under such circumstances, who is going to develop and create new export commodity supplies? What financial means will there be? [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] Our economy is said to be flexible—even supernaturally flexible—and if there is no other option, it will turn toward the more difficult Western market....

[Kadar] In 1990, $1.5 billion of Hungary's exports to Eastern Europe "disappeared," but, on the other hand, our exports to the West grew by $1 billion. Society just about digested the missing $500 million, although there was much cursing about that. This year, our exports to the East might decrease by a further $1.5 billion, and there will be even more cursing and even greater tension. If that were to happen, then we cannot lose another $1.5 billion in 1992, because that would mean a complete loss of our export markets.

[Kocsi] That is why you would like to see a more active government?

[Kadar] In economic management, the government can adopt several roles. There is the laissez-faire policy—that is, the policy of "beneficial neglect"—according to which market mechanisms will single-handedly direct events and the changing emphasis of our foreign trade, in which case there is no need to intervene. The laissez-faire policy is only to be conducted if the economy is healthy and if developments are not put under any great burden. If a difficult situation arises, even developed market-oriented countries repress their laissez-faire policy, and the government starts playing an active role. This active role can be defensive (the existing structure is protected,) or offensive (the existing structure is modified.) [passage omitted]

Out of the former socialist countries, Hungary has come closest to developing market mechanisms, but these mechanisms have not yet been completely consolidated—as they stand in 1991, they are not strong enough yet. [passage omitted]

President Goncz Receives U.S. Senators

LD0204133991 Budapest MTI in English 1215 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—President of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz on Tuesday received a U.S. delegation headed by Senator David Boren (Democrat), chairman of the Senate's Committee for National Security and Intelligence.

The talks focussed on Hungary's security following the dismantling of the Warsaw Treaty military organization. President Goncz said he saw the basis for Hungary's security in a European security system, the countries of the region and the Soviet Union concluding bilateral agreements between each other, with due emphasis on security issues.

Answering the senators, question, what political or economic support Hungary expected from the U.S., President Goncz said, "We hope that the U.S. Congress will soon revise its classification of Hungary as a country being under communist control with no market economy". He asked the U.S. Administration to go on backing Hungary in international financial and economic organizations.

Hungary counted on further U.S investments, being aware of the fact that from among Central-East European countries, it was in Hungary that investors could expect the largest profit with the smallest risk, Goncz said.

The meeting was attended also by U.S Ambassador to Budapest Charles Thomas.

Prime Minister Talks With EC Ambassadors

LD0204122891 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 2— Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki today received the ambassadors to Poland of the member-states of the European Communities, and discussed with them a new Polish proposal concerning Poland's request for associate status with the communities. The proposal covers the possibility of Poland's applying higher duties in the case of free trade with the E.E.C.

Walesa, Bielecki Discuss EC Membership

LD0204154591 Warsaw PAP in English 1513 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 2—President Lech Walesa today met Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, before the president's departure for Brussels. After the meeting, Bielecki said that he had presented the president with a summary of the discussions at a meeting he had held earlier today with the ambassadors and representatives of the member-states of the European Communities. "It is important that all political forces in Poland speak in the same voice on the subject of Poland's negotiations for association with the E.E.C." said Prime Minister Bielecki.

The prime minister announced that the matter of (Walesa's and Bielecki's) joint visit to the Soviet Union had not been raised. However, he emphasised that his planned visit to Moscow had the aim of maintaining good neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union while simultaneously opening Poland to the E.C. "We are also seeking to renew our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union following the change to foreign currency accounting (with the former members of CMEA)," added Bielecki.

The deputy minister for foreign economic cooperation, Andrzej Olechowski, who also attended the meeting with Walesa, said that Poland should seek, not merely associate status but, as quickly as possible, full membership of the E.C.

Olechowski noted that Poland wished to establish a free-trade zone between Poland and the E.C. as soon as possible. "We raise extremely difficult problems for the European Community," he said. "This is a time when the E.C. is discussing its future, and the integration of Poland, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia creates a difficult task for it."

Olechowski said that President Walesa's visit to Brussels emphasised the importance which Poland placed on European-wide cooperation. "A political argument in favour of Polish membership of the community is our countrys stabilising role in Europe," he said, and also drew attention to the "enormous potential (...) of the Polish economy and this nation of 40 million people."

"For the countries of Western Europe Poland is also a market for goods produced within the community, while for Poland (the Community) represents further export opportunities, and participation in the system of the present-day world economy," Andrzej Olechowski said.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Relations With West

AU0204120091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 91 p 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Ryszard Malik; place and date not given: "We Are Opening Up to the West, But Not Closing to the East"—first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Text] In yesterday's RZECZPOSPOLITA, we carried an interview with the head of Polish diplomacy on the Polish president's visit to the United States. Today we are carrying the minister's answers to questions on other aspects of Polish foreign policy.

[Malik] Minister, the new European order following the collapse of the "fraternal socialist community" is only just beginning to take shape. President Lech Walesa's already-announced visits to Brussels, London, and Paris are expected to help find a suitable new place for Poland in this new order. What do you think?

[Skubiszewski] In Paris, Poland and France will conclude a treaty on cooperation and solidarity to cement Polish-French cooperation and consolidate France's role as our most important political partner in Western Europe. The treaty with France is a major component in the process of constructing Polish security by means of bilateral agreements. Please notice that the Polish-U.S. declaration and the treaty with France precede our treaties with Germany and the USSR. Our relations with the USSR are a special issue, but as far as the treaty with Germany is concerned, we have been prepared to conclude it for a long time, and we wanted to do so earlier. Our talks with Italy are also proceeding at a faster pace.

Direct contact between President Walesa and key French politicians is still desirable.

The state visit to Great Britain has a major ceremonious dimension. The first postcommunist head of state to have been invited by Queen Elizabeth II is none other than Polish President Lech Walesa. The royal invitation, immediately after the presidential election, is a rare event. By the way, I think Polish-British cooperation, which both governments have been successfully working on for quite some time, will be consolidated during this visit.

In 1939, a new relationship was established between the two countries, a relationship brought about by a joint desire to protect human principles against modern barbarism. Then there was a long break and a standstill caused by the cold war. Today, both countries have a common interest in building European security. Great

Britain supports our desire to conclude a treaty on associate membership in the EC. All this is very important to us. We should make our relations with Great Britain even closer than they are. Together with France, Great Britain should be considered our major partner in Western Europe. Our excellent relations with Great Britain facilitate our partnership with it.

As far as Brussels is concerned, one cannot exaggerate the value of the president's visit to the EC. EC membership is our strategic goal for the next decade. In the meantime, we are counting on a favorable agreement on association. Let us remember that even though this associate membership is mainly economic in content, it does possess an increasing political dimension. One should bear this in mind during the negotiations with the EC. We are already being drawn into European political cooperation to some degree.

[Malik] We keep saying that we cannot join NATO because that would upset our eastern neighbor, to say the least. So what are our relations with NATO supposed to be like, and will they guarantee our security?

[Skubiszewski] There is no question of upsetting anyone, for NATO takes Soviet interests into account. Poland is the USSR's neighbor, and wants to have the best possible relationships and close cooperation with that country and its emancipating republics. In my address to the UN General Assembly last November, I presented a concept based on the assumption that NATO, as the pillar of European security, cannot remain indifferent to security in Central and Eastern Europe. I expounded this thought in London at the beginning of January. I see this attitude has acquired supporters since then. We maintain and will maintain permanent contacts with NATO, also in concrete matters. This is still useful to both sides. This policy is not aimed against anyone, and is part of the changes that the Soviet Union itself is experiencing. By the way, our rational and realistic handling of contacts with NATO is being met with understanding, and more than just understanding in the United States.

[Malik] While on the subject of our eastern neighbor, what is our final policy toward Moscow? You speak of a two-track policy, good relations with the central authorities and with the independence-minded republics at the same time. Is such a policy possible in the long run? Do you fear what we have always feared in our history, that whenever Poland's relations with Moscow deteriorate, relations between Moscow and Bonn improve? What about our new treaty with the USSR?

[Skubiszewski] The two-track nature of our policy does not imply symmetry. Our relations with the USSR go back to the foundation of that state, whereas our relations with the republics have a different dimension. When the Soviet Ukraine was still independent at the beginning of the 1920's, we recognized its independence. At Riga, Poland concluded a peace treaty not just with Soviet Russia, but also with the Ukraine. There was a Ukrainian mission in Warsaw after the treaty, right until the emergence of the USSR. Today the republics are declaring their sovereignty, and we are drawing certain conclusions from that. Nevertheless, we are not interfering in the USSR's internal transformations, and will not do so. We are acting with caution and moderation, acknowledging the things happening inside the USSR, and this aspect of our Eastern policy has not caused any trouble in Moscow so far. In the West, our policy is considered bold and pioneering, and takes current development trends into account.

The good relations between the USSR and FRG today are not a threat to our relations. In the Europe of today, the Rapallo accord and other pacts like the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact belong to history. We have a different vision of Europe, which has to be implemented together with Germany, the USSR, and its republics. We will soon commence talks with the USSR on the subject of a treaty of cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

[Malik] Relations with our western neighbor are normal at last. We are concluding talks on a treaty of cooperation and good-neighborly relations with Germany. Soon we will conclude a friendship treaty with France. The center of gravity of our foreign policy has undergone a natural shift away from the East toward the West. Do you fear it is too far to the West? Maybe we do not appreciate relations with the Soviet Union? That is what some angry Soviet generals and politicians are implying.

[Skubiszewski] I honestly welcome the resumption of talks with Germany. The break in these talks was too long. As far as the USSR is concerned, we cannot change geopolitics, but, together with other countries, we can change strategy. We are not closing ourselves to the East at all, neither are we neglecting it in our politics. Having regained its independence, Poland is aiming toward the best possible relations with the East. Our contribution to European unity forbids us to have better relations with the East than with the West, or vice versa. Good relations with the USSR are a fundamental task in our state strategy. The angry voices you mentioned are the result of temporary difficulties, which have already been resolved to a certain extent. A distant horizon is required in Polish-USSR relations.

[Malik] Everything has been working out well for us recently. We have had nothing but success—the lifting of visas, the reduction of our debts. But perhaps there are dangers we might have forgotten about?

[Skubiszewski] I have never claimed everything is working out well, and I am not doing so today. There has never been a foreign policy consisting of a string of successes. Both the government and the Foreign Ministry are watching out for any threats. I discussed some of them in the Sejm on 14 February and indicated them even earlier. Let us remember that politics is the art of achieving only what is possible. This means that a correct diagnosis of possibilities is required. Poland and some of its neighbors cannot be a buffer zone, a strategic forecourt, an allegedly neutral creation, and a region of

reduced security in Europe, and it is good that more and more people realize that. That would be the worst possible threat to our security, and we, together with other countries, are opposing it.

Kolodziejczyk Interviewed on Army Deployment

AU0304095591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense, by Maria Wagrowska; place and date not given: "The Army Has Fewer Secrets"]

[Text] [Wagrowska] The Warsaw Pact's military structures are to be dissolved by 1 April. Will they be?

[Kolodziejczyk] There is no reason why this should be postponed. The Soviet representation in the Joint Armed Forces command was abolished on 15 March, and the last Soviet officer belonging to this representation left Poland the very same day. The seven-man group of Polish officers who went to Moscow to assist in dissolving the military structures has also just returned.

The meeting that is meant to dissolve the Warsaw Pact completely will take place in Prague in early July, as planned.

[Wagrowska] What was the real size of Poland's involvement in the Joint Armed Forces? Which Polish Army units belonged to it? This should not be a secret anymore.

[Kolodziejczyk] It is not a secret anymore, but there is a restriction on the issue of information imposed by the "Protocol on the Revocation of Military Agreements Concluded within the Warsaw Pact Framework and on the Dissolution of Warsaw Pact Bodies and Military Structures," so all I can tell you is that about 10 percent of the Polish Army's potential was earmarked for operations by the Joint Armed Forces. It was mainly combat units that were affected, but air force squadrons, air defense units, and naval units were also involved.

[Wagrowska] In that case, what would have been the role of Polish units in the event of war?

[Kolodziejczyk] Our units were part of the second wave of operations, contained in the first strategic spearhead of Joint Armed Forces operations in the West; therefore they were not situated in the "front line." Polish Army units were meant to be deployed after the first few days of war, inside and outside Poland. The whole of Poland and its entire infrastructure was supposed to provide a backdrop for the Joint Armed Forces and the Polish contingent belonging to it. Our tasks included providing a technical screen for army movements, protection for Soviet units, and protection for rear guard operations. In particular, we were to provide medical and communications services.

The Army of the former GDR and the Western Group of Soviet Forces formed the front line.

I myself took part in many high-level "war games," and although I am not fully acquainted with the plans of the Soviet leadership, I wish to make it clear that the Warsaw Pact never rehearsed offensive scenarios.

[Wagrowska] Can you reveal what functions Polish officers performed in the Joint Armed Forces command?

[Kolodziejczyk] There were 30 Polish officers on the staff and 12 on the Technical Committee. They held such posts as deputy commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, member of the Joint Armed Forces Military Council, member of the Joint Armed Forces Scientific-Technical Council, deputy chief of the Joint Armed Forces Staff (permanently stationed in Minsk), deputy chief of the Joint Armed Forces Technical Committee, and other posts.

[Wagrowska] How many weapons did Poland contribute?

[Kolodziejczyk] Several percent of the armaments of each armed service were Polish.

[Wagrowska] Our membership in the Warsaw Pact was very expensive, was it not?

[Kolodziejczyk] We allocated 12.2 billion zlotys [Z] for this purpose in 1990. This year, because of the dissolution of the military structures, we have only paid membership dues for the first quarter, amounting to $130,000, assuming that one zloty equals $9,500. The reason for the increase is additional expenditures to provide wages and severance pay for employees. We provided more or less 13.5 percent of the budget of the Joint Armed Forces leadership.

[Wagrowska] Is it true that some of our weapons were useless because we had no access to spare parts, warheads, etc.?

[Kolodziejczyk] There was never an instance where we were unable to use weapons on account of a shortage of spare parts. In any case, as we well know, most of the weapons came from the USSR. However, more complex technological equipment such as command systems and missile systems were overhauled abroad on the basis of bilateral agreements. It was cheaper that way. That is also why we never received repair kits to repair that equipment.

It is true, however, that we did not have any warheads for our R-300 and R-70 missiles. We would have been issued with these warheads only in the event of war. Right now we have enough of these warheads for normal purposes, including training. Nevertheless, we must consider reserves. Moscow refuses to sell us any more warheads, therefore we will eliminate our surface-to-surface missiles, retrain their crews and provide them with new duties. Our missile air-defense systems are 100-percent complete.

[Wagrowska] The Warsaw Pact is disappearing, but that does not mean it will not leave any remnants.

[Kolodziejczyk] Correct. First, there are accounts left to be settled, connected with the continued presence of Soviet forces in Poland. Claims will be filed for the Soviet Army's use of facilities, e.g. command centers, in Poland and the other Warsaw Pact countries. The appropriate documents exist. Second, we still have at our disposal the equipment we discussed earlier. Third, there are still Soviet forces stationed in Eastern Europe, and there is a need to provide air traffic control. There are still a few Soviet officers employed at air traffic control centers, where they will remain until the Soviet forces have been withdrawn from Germany.

Our air defense is no longer part of the Warsaw Pact system, but we are already cooperating in this sphere with Hungary and Czechoslovakia, according to new principles.

[Wagrowska] So the Poland-Czechoslovakia-Hungary triangle exists not only in politics, but also in the military sphere?

[Kolodziejczyk] We would like to cooperate with the CSFR and Hungary and guarantee each other suitable weapons, spare parts, and fuels; apply different technological developments instead of Soviet ones; hold consultations on various undertakings connected with disarmament; and consider new military doctrines. It is much easier to do this together with others, instead of on one's own.

The intention of all three countries is to reduce military potentials in Europe as quickly as possible, although the three countries, including Poland, cannot ratify the relevant agreement right now because the talks on armed forces reductions have slowed down as a result of the Soviet Union's well-known stance.

[Wagrowska] Do you consider the threat from the east, of which there is increasing talk, merely hypothetical or real? After all, there are still 49 Soviet divisions close to Poland or inside Poland, Poland's air space is being violated, and some Soviet military men have sounded aggressive tones.

[Kolodziejczyk] Madam! Whether these threats are hypothetical or real, a military man has to be ready for them, and we are trying to safeguard the Republic's borders as best we can, in both directions, east and west. There must also be protection against the highly probable negative effects of the destabilization in the Soviet Union.

The deployment of our Army was as follows: About 60 percent of our Armed Forces were in the western zone, 30 percent in the central zone, and 10 percent in the eastern zone. This could arouse suspicions as to how these forces were meant to be deployed and cause a mistaken interpretation of Polish military doctrine. The new model for the Armed Forces envisages more or less 40 percent of our Armed Forces in the west, 20 percent in the middle of the country, and 40 percent in the east. In addition, we plan to have fast-reaction forces as part of the regular Army. These will be highly maneuverable units with considerable firepower, especially against tanks.

[Wagrowska] The Polish Army is supposed to help protect our eastern border against waves of immigrants, and, if necessary, safeguard law and order in the border areas.

[Kolodziejczyk] Yes, if Interior Ministry forces require help in keeping order at border crossings, railroad stations, and highways; carrying out air patrols; protecting economic facilities vital to the country's defense; and setting up camps and temporary accommodation.

[Wagrowska] The naked truth is that we have an army that is relatively weak, in the course of reorganization, with no money, and no major prospects of improved weapons. Poland does not belong to any bilateral or multilateral alliance, and the signing of declarations and treaties does not give any direct security guarantees. Apart from incentives for soldiers and a mobilization of society, what are you as national defense minister counting on in such a situation?

[Kolodziejczyk] We extol the principle of defense sufficiency. In our specific Polish circumstances, that means that if anyone wanted to attack us, the price he would pay would be so high that the venture would be unprofitable. We want to restructure our Armed Forces in such a way that they conform to the principle of equal security along our entire border, of which we have already spoken a little. We want to concentrate more on cheap but highly effective mines, plus physical obstacles that would increase security for a minimum of outlay. This might remind people of a camp. In addition, we must have forces capable of conducting counterattacks in revenge.

From a purely military angle, that is all there is to be said, but Poland's security also depends on political solutions, perhaps even more than on military ones.

The best possible solution is not to join any alliance and preserve a kind of military "neutrality," or nonalignment. We must be a bridgehead between east and west, also from a military point of view.

We wish to encourage a development of European relations in which there will never be a use of force or threat of the use of force, and in which disarmament will continue.

[Wagrowska] How would the Army react to Poland's membership in NATO? Such an idea has already appeared.

[Kolodziejczyk] There is another side to the medal: would NATO want us? These are highly political matters, but I think the era of military blocs should disappear as quickly as possible. Therefore we should not be concerned with looking for a substitute for the Warsaw Pact or forming a regional or supraregional group. We should be concerned with disarmament and the dismantling of the military blocs.

[Wagrowska] Yes, but NATO is not likely to be dissolved.

[Kolodziejczyk] Not today, but let us hope it will be in future, for despite mutual declarations that no European country considers any other country to be an enemy, there has to be a certain symmetry and military equilibrium. Right now, NATO is a counterweight to the Soviet potential; however, if disarmament leads to a reduction in potentials, then military blocs will become superfluous. I admit this prospect is still rather distant, but that is the only path to take.

[Wagrowska] What would be the purpose of the liaison missions, of which there is more and more talk these days?

[Kolodziejczyk] Their purpose would be the same as that of bilateral agreements. They would guarantee a nonmilitary solution of all problems. In this way, a network of agreements would be created, and this network would cover the whole of Europe and make it safer.

Agriculture Minister Views Development Plan

PM0204140691 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Mar 91 pp 1, 7

[Ryszard Rudnic report on news conference by Adam Tanski, minister of agriculture and food industries, with unidentified reporters at Czestochowa Voivodship Office; date not given: "Government Philosophy"]

[Text] The government has prepared a development program for agriculture. As proof of this, booklets with title's suggesting just such contents were distributed before the start of Minister Adam Tanski's news conference at Czestochowa Voivodship Office.

The agriculture minister outlined briefly the tenets underlying the program drawn up for the agriculture sector by his appointed team in the ministry: According to earlier prognoses, expenditures on food increase by 1-2 percent per year. Their share in family budgets (to recall, we spend 50-60 percent of our incomes on food) will be maintained at the usual level. Accordingly, the demand barrier will also remain at its previous level, and the number of people employed in agriculture must fall. At the same time, production efficiency in the sector is falling, too, and the minister believes that this situation cannot be improved unless the whole area of supplies to the rural sector is effectively demonopolized.

Next, questions were asked from the floor. We asked Minister Tanski for an assessment of the decision to initiate strikes, which was made by the Individual Farmers' Solidarity National Council.

[Tanski] We received the decision to start the protest action with the utmost regret. It is very easy to blockade roads. True, we did not reach an agreement on the introduction of guaranteed minimum prices. This was because such a solution is contrary to the economic philosophy followed by this government, and we do not envisage the possibility of further discussion on this subject. On the other hand, there are a number of other matters—such as the extension of the availability of preferential loans or the introduction of antidumping customs duty on foodstuffs—which remain open to discussion and do not run counter to the guiding principles of our Polish economy. Their range and extent depend not so much on our goodwill as on the current economic situation and the amount of money in the coffers.

[Reporter] The farming community is unanimous in its criticism of and complaints about the work of the Agrarian Market Agency.

[Tanski] The agency is still, in effect, in the initial stage of organization, and it is at the moment gathering experience to assist its future activity. We want it to serve as an instrument for projecting future market prices throughout the country. Briefly, this would involve the operation of interventionist purchasing as soon as prices fall below world market prices—albeit with certain built-in limitations. Prices quoted on the international food market are far lower than the actual production costs. Allowing for its financial limitations, the agency will make every effort to make appropriate adjustments.

[Reporter] What about the proposed restructuring of agriculture?

[Tanski] We want to speed up the process of demonopolization. The successive stages of the operation will be as follows: first, demonopolization; then, privatization. The former, which will also affect the grain production and processing industry, is indeed inevitable, despite protests voiced by the individual interest groups. We have allocated 2 trillion zlotys [Z] to the agricultural restructuring operation. From the perspective of what we need, this is very little; from the perspective of the state budget, it is a very large sum. It is not true that State Agricultural Farms [PGR] will not be allowed to go private: They will—on the basis of an existing general parliamentary act. The idea is to privatize, not to split up existing farms. On the other hand, the state sector will have to return to the farmers all land that was taken away from them on the strength of administrative decisions—that is, unlawfully. I believe that the demands posed by the PGR farms—which stipulate that they be made exempt from the obligation to provide such social welfare benefits as nursery schools, kindergartens, or housing subsidies—are justified. These changes should be made as soon as possible.

[Reporter] When can we expect the introduction of barrier duties on imported foodstuffs?

[Tanski] It should be remembered that we export food on a large scale ourselves, so we must step very carefully in this area. A working group has been set up to investigate the question of antidumping and antisubsidy prices. We are also entitled to demand that the food imported into

this country meet international veterinary standards, which in practice means restrictions on the import of pigs and cattle.

[Reporter] Will an organized state purchase of harvested grain be taking place this year?

[Tanski] The Soviets have already purchased 200,000 tonnes of our grain this year, and they are more than likely to buy as much again. I think that, come harvest time, the grain glut in the silos will be successfully dealt with. The minister spoke at length about ministerial plans for a thorough reform and modernization of the agricultural sector; the introduction of new production technologies; changes in the cooperative organizations operating in rural communities; retraining of bankrupted farmers; phasing out food production in ecological disaster areas; and cultivation plans for the so-called eastern wall. The sums of money quoted in the context of these projects, however, were so insignificant that any realistic hopes for seeing these projects implemented soon became enveloped in a fog of unreality.

Republican Party, National Republican Party Merge

AU0204191091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1813 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—Tuesday, 2 April, the decision was signed of the Republic Party's merging with the National Republican Party, under the name of the Republican Party. The act was signed by the chairmen of the two political parties, Ion Minzatu and Adrian Chisalita. The former is chairman and the latter deputy-chairman of the new political formation.

On the occasion a Transylvania zone of the Republican Party was created.

Two Presidential Aides Discharged From Duties

AU0204190891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—Two of the Romanian president's aides have been discharged from their functions. The Romanian head of state, Mr. Ion Iliescu signed the decree that releases Vasile Secares from the position of head of political analysis department of the presidency and Vladimir Pasti from the post of presidential councillor, following their election to the leading body of a political organisation, as stipulated by Law No. 1 of 30 June 1990 on the organisation and operation of Romania's presidential service.

President Iliescu Receives FSN Leaders

AU0204190991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—Tuesday, President Ion Iliescu met the members of the Executive Bureau of the FSN [National Salvation Front] Steering Committee, whose national leader, Petre Roman, described the stage reached by the reconstruction process of this political formation and its nearest objects, a topic on which the FSN executive president Ion Aurel Stoica elaborated.

The discussions dwelt on the latest events in Parliament, the FSN representatives being keen on specifying their position to these events.

Iliescu, Roman Comment on FSN Disputes, Tasks

AU0204213691 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Statements by Prime Minister Petre Roman and President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest on 2 April—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] At the end of today's meeting between President Ion Iliescu and the members of the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front [FSN], Mr. Petre Roman made the following statement:

[Roman] Aside from the formal aspect of the meeting—namely that the new Executive Bureau of the FSN Steering Collegium, which was appointed by the national convention, had the obligation to meet with the country's president—we also held a more substantial talk concerning the Executive Bureau's goals for the FSN's activity and role in structuring the political life in our country. As I said during the national convention, we believe that we, the FSN, have a very important and essential role to fulfill in structuring the Romanian political life in the coming period.

I also discussed with the president his perception of how the role of the is seen by various segments of the population—given the difficult social problems we are facing now—and of the kind of endorsement the FSN enjoys, in light of these problems and the wishes of our supporters in the Romanian society. In his capacity as president, he receives a large number of diverse problems, ideas, wishes, concerns, and doubts that reach him through various channels. He shared some of these concerns with us, so we can strive to find solutions for them in today's Romanian society.

We also discussed the latest developments in the Romanian Parliament, such as the so-called dissidence of the 10 [resignation of 10 delegates during FSN National Convention] and Mr. Barladeanu's stance. Concerning the latter, the Executive Bureau emphasized, practically without exception, that since Mr. Barladeanu's statements cannot be considered a mode of discussion within the FSN—which permits the airing of a variety of opinions—but simply a stance outside the framework of the FSN, these statements cannot be accepted and necessarily remain outside the Front, something which also resulted from the entire written correspondence or telephone conversations I had in recent days with the most diverse FSN representatives or simple FSN supporters.

I believe it was an important meeting, after the success of the FSN National Convention. We cannot ignore the fact that Mr. Iliescu was founding member and president of the FSN; let alone that now, in his capacity as the country's president, he is an element of equilibrium, who must have a correct picture of the spectrum and the entire political activity in the country.

[Announcer] Romania's President Mr. Ion Iliescu said:

[Iliescu] As the country's president, I try to keep in touch with all political groupings. It is only natural to have such contacts particularly with the majority group in the Parliament, which has assumed the responsibility of governing the country. This meeting was organized at the initiative of the Front's leadership, of the new leadership elected at the latest FSN convention. In the period that followed, the FSN organized its Collegium and its Executive Bureau; consequently, I acceded to this request for an informative meeting on the way in which the new Front leadership has started its activity and on the problems it has to face.

Of course, the great problems facing the country are also the problems of the governmental grouping and of the political grouping as such, in its entire activity—including the confrontations in the Parliament, that is in the Senate

and the Assembly. I consider this point in the Front's life as a reflection of the general situation we are experiencing now. This is a time of crisis in the country's economic and political life. We are faced with very great difficulties and it is only natural that these difficulties in the overall evolution of our society and political life should also be reflected within the political groupings—as you could see, almost all political groupings have generated similar processes of confrontations, including splits. The Front was also not spared internal confrontation on problems pertaining to its overall platform, organizational structure, and practical economic policies.

As a result, all this led to confrontations of views and opinions. My impression is that Mr. Barladeanu was wrong in this respect. Problems that should be discussed within the political groupings must be first and foremost discussed there. Of course, he, in his turn, can also have opinions that he wants to state in his capacity as senator, even president of the Senate, when basic problems are discussed, when the government submits a report, or when certain [word indistinct] are discussed. He [words indistinct] transferred certain internal party discussions to the Senate. I considered this uncalled for. In my capacity, however, I do not want to interfere in this issue. Of course, these aspects were also raised during today's discussions, with the members of the Front's Collegium Executive Bureau stating their opinions on this aspect [word indistinct].

FSN Withdraws Support for Barladeanu, Others

AU0304110491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1003 GMT 3 Apr 91

["Political Life: The Front Sacks Its Dissidents"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1991—The Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN] decided to propose its Steering Committee the withdrawal of the National Salvation Front support for the president of the Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, for other two senators and ten deputies: Barbu Popescu, Constantin Balcan, Sorin Teodor Botnaru, Ioan Danut Fleaca, Mihai Iancu, Teodor Horia Mihaescu, Vasile Radulescu, Mihai Stoica, Dumitru Serban, Dimitrie Gabriel Nicolaescu, Gheorghe Manole and Ion Zgorcea.

The decision was adopted in the April 2 meeting of the Executive Bureau which analysed the situation generated by the stands expressed in Parliament by the ten deputies and three senators based on a report of the Ethics and Litigations Commission.

Learning about the public statements through which the aforementioned did not recognise the Statute and Political Platform adopted by the recent national convention of the party, the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front finds out, the communique of that meeting reads, that by their stands these parliamentarians violated the statute provisions and placed themselves against the National Salvation Front's interests and excluded themselves from the party.

In the session of the Parliament's upper house the president of the Senate, Alexandru Barladeanu, harshly criticized both the government blaming it for the collapse of the economy and the premier, warning about the danger of dictatorship and cult of personality, making broad references—in that context—to the undemocratic, in his opinion, Statute which had been recently adopted by the National Convention of the National Salvation Front.

In their turn, after the convention, the aforementioned deputies and senators announced their withdrawal from the FSN Parliamentary Group and setting up of a FSN-social democratic or FSN-May 20 parliamentary group but they did not withdraw formally from the government party.

Barladeanu Hails Idea of Coalition Government

AU0204120791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1103 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/4/1991—"I've been supporting the idea of a coalition government ever since I returned from Strasbourg. When I saw the situation from the outside and after the contacts I had abroad, I reached the conclusion that the best solution for our country is a government of national union," Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu stated in an interview with daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL," recalling that discussions had already started to that effect with representatives of the opposition to be later ended without any explanation, according to Mr. Barladeanu, by Prime Minister Petre Roman's fault.

When requested to define his position about the National Salvation Front [FSN], Mr. Barladeanu specified that the FSN as it is now differs from the group whose founding member he was. "I have never believed that the Front must include only people with identical views," the Senate president said, reiterating that "in my opinion, the Front should have gathered all those who wanted to rid the country from the former regime and to overcome the present situation, regardless of their views and ideology." And he added: "the very promotion of the idea of a single chief, a national leader, is profoundly anti-democratic."

Credibility of Government, Army Questioned

AU0204223091 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Mar 91 p 1

[Tudor Calin-Zarojanu article: "Who Is the Destabilizing Factor?"]

[Text] What credibility can one expect from a government in which no fewer than five ministers have tendered their resignation? The fact that these resignations

were not accepted—with one exception, the aim of which was obvious—is very serious because: These people either thought that their place was no longer in the government (no matter the reason) and then the rejection is an abuse, or the gesture was meant to save appearances and then....

Not to mention what this government has actually done; it refuses to understand that, in the final analysis, the man in the street does not care who is leading the country, what the political system is called, or what model was used. What counts is only what life is like, and it is obvious what life is like. What the government is doing is also obvious: It is holding a dead duck in its hands trying to pass it off: Either the people are not working ("forgetting" that certain conditions—especially motivation—are needed to work or does it expect people's conscience to have its say...) the West is not helping us enough ("forgetting" to ask how much the West was helping the odious leader) or it has no time to deal with serious issues because of meetings, strikes, and a certain part of the press.

What credibility does one expect of a ruling party from which—sooner of later—all former dissidents and all fighters of December have distanced themselves? Even a dubious person like Dan Iosif reached the same conclusion while all higher ranks of the National Salvation Front [FSN] are crammed with the former nomenklatura, who—we will never tire of stressing that—have contributed to everything that has happened in socialist Romania when they were holding decisionmaking positions. They are trying to persuade us that they could not help it, which is wrong, and that all of us are equally guilty, which is ridiculous.

What credibility does one expect of a legislature that is devoting most of its time to the settling of petty accounts, to tactless jokes, and fake problems, while voting on the Land Law without as much as consulting a single farmer? Our parliamentarians feel tremendously superior forgetting that almost none of them was elected as individuals, but only because they were in the list of one or another party. Yesterday, still illustrious unknown people—today friendly old people, who are drowsing in the hall, and vigorous revolutionaries, hastily gathered in a couple or three months, are deciding our destiny (theirs is a different one) by giving lessons in (Marxist) history, (planned) economy and (...) policy, obviously, in accordance with their qualifications.

What credibility can one expect of an Army that has not sworn that it will not fire at its own people, at unarmed people?

What about that of the police, which is ready to transfer hundreds of people to "guard" a meeting, ready to use aggression against journalists and guard the home of the television director (a strategic target of national importance), but helpless when confronted with a tremendous wave of violations and profiteering, which are taking place in broad daylight under the very eyes of the police?

What about that of justice, prosecutors office, and an information service which have not discovered or punished any terrorist, but have organized ridiculous trials for some of the "heads," and have had no legal initiative to eradicate corruption and—after tens and hundreds of abusive arrests (not only on 13-15 June)—released the "criminals" without any excuse, denial, or rehabilitation?

There is not much to say about the credibility of a president, who is able to talk for half an hour without saying anything.

Two years ago, a PARIS MATCH political commentator summarized Gorbachev's successes as follows: Nothing works, but one is able to say so!

Is this what people died for in December?

ADEVARUL Board Dismisses Director Novaceanu

AU0204183591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 2 Apr 91

["Mass Media: A Diffused Conflict?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—The conflict between the paper of the largest circulation and the executive seems to have been diffused following the call the previous day on the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman by the members of the new management board of the "ADEVARUL" daily, an interview when according to the Tuesday issue of the aforementioned publication, which gives no details, both sides revealed startling facts.

The conflict broke out last week when the staff decided with one vote against and seven abstentions the dismissal of the honorary director of the paper, since February last year, poet and Hispanic expert Darie Novaceanu.

The staff's decision followed the presentation by Mr. Novaceanu of a project for the privatisation of the paper as a company with a 99.62-per cent state capital and 0.38 per cent private capital.

This "occult scheme" (Sergiu Andon, one of the members of the new management board) which deals "a new and decisive blow to the paper's independence" (from the communique of the "ADEVARUL" free union) was considered significant for "the growing tendency" of central executive decisionmakers to take hold of the Romanian daily of the largest circulation and annul its status of real independence also manifested through "the cavils of government clerks" meant to delay the attempts of the editorial staff at turning the paper into a joint-stock company.

They considered Mr. Novaceanu's gesture as "the final assault" against the free status of "ADEVARUL," an attempt to "definitively turn it into a state-owned publication" by means of a governmental act drawn up in secrecy (from the same communique).

According to the same union document, the journalists started a Japanese-type strike which they will cease only when the authorities finalize the documents for the setting up of an editors' joint stock company.

Speaking on the radio and TV, Mr. Novaceanu denied that there would have been elements of the executive power which had wanted to take the newspaper under control, and branded the "populist elan" of some of those who directly shifted from "SCINTEIA" to "ADEVARUL."

In retaliation, writer Sergiu Andon, assistant chief editor, one of the All-Country Journalists' Trade Unions leader, stated through the same channels that "ADEVARUL" would "slip neither to the right nor to the left and seek to be independent as it has been so far."

According to the official communique on the interview between the newspaper's board of directors and Prime Minister Petre Roman, the government "favourably sees" the setting up of share-holding societies with all the employees' capital partaking, and "correctly appraises the importance of the constant publicist attitude of a daily with such a standing" as "ADEVARUL."

We mention that this daily has shown its equidistance from political forces ever since the election campaign and has tried to observe it henceforth.

Many comments resulted in a violently pro-government and anti- Parliament article in which Mr. Novaceanu highly praised the government's dynamism and deplored the legislative, to which the speakers of the two-chamber Parliament replied in mass media.

"ADEVARUL" also played host to a vehement attack against President Iliescu as well as to a large opinion poll the majority subjects of which were against the assessments made in that article.

As for the economic and social spheres, the daily criticized the government for its hastiness in applying price liberalization and for the fact that the measure was not preceded by privatization.

Spokesman Holds News Conference on Recent Events

AU0204202091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1647 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—Answering a number of questions during his weekly press conference, Government Spokesman Bogdan Baltazar pointed out that the accusations brought to the government by Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, were a politically futile attempt to stop the inevitable course of events in Romania.

As to the dismissal from daily "ADEVARUL" of Director Dorin Novaceanu by a steering council of that newspaper, Mr. Baltazar pointed out that the government had no intention, now or later, to get involved into the internal problems of a newspaper. An exception will be made by subsidising the national minorities' publications in case they had financial difficulties.

25,353 unemployed were registered, as at 1 April 1991, with the labour exchanges in Romania. Job opportunities as resulting from surveys conducted by county employment exchanges amount to about 10,000 in the mining, construction, light industry and farm machinery sectors, showed secretary of state and government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar, at his weekly news briefing, specifying that most of the 266,500 labourers who, subsequent to a government decision, were made redundant in February this year are now resuming work especially in constructions.

Brucan on Reform, Prices, Coalition Government

AU0304080391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2150 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/4/1991—The transition to democracy and to a market economy, the two domestic tasks that now prevail, go hand in hand, said Silviu Brucan in an interview with the Romanian television Tuesday night. However, he said, I realized there is a sharp contradiction between the two. People enjoy the freedoms and rights that democracy has given them, but they would not put up with the hardship that a market economy brings along, resorting to the rights that democracy has given them—strikes, demonstrations. By so doing they raise obstacles to the transition to the market economy. They do it because transition to a market economy requires price liberalization, which leads in its turn to inflation and a higher cost of living, as well as privatisation, which leads to unemployment. Therefore, it is a very painful social process which takes place not only in our country, but in other Eastern countries as well, including in the former German Democratic Republic where, even though the conditions were better than in Romania, the situation is the worst right now, Mr. Brucan said.

On the Roman government's reform programme, Mr. Brucan said that in theory it is praised by all, but that it is the practice that counts. Anyhow, the only thing that should be done now is that the technocrat government should be left to go all the way with price liberalisation to see where it may lead, because the government does have a plan after all. The question is that new prices should be set for products which are in short supply on the market, even though it has been said that 70 percent of the production capacity has been maintained.

The trade unions should more closely look into their role in a market economy and not resort to strikes during the recession Romania is in now—if not downright depression—and supplied the example of the American unions which do not strike during a recession.

We accept Iliescu because he got 80 percent of the nation's vote, but Barladeanu we do not, because he is "a sorrowful countenance of the nomenklatura" who "blocks the reform," in Mr. Brucan's opinion. He is

against academicians who do not have a scientific work, he said in answer to a question about a group of citizens who contested Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu's academician status.

A coalition government with opposition parties is not feasible nor is it wished by the opposition, said Mr. Brucan, because it could not work with a parliament where the FSN [National Salvation Front] holds the majority of seats. Nevertheless, an extra- parliamentary coalition with other social groups—trade unions and influence groups—can be made in order to implement the current government's reform programme.

Bucharest's Economy 'Continues To Deteriorate'

AU0304123191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1032 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1991—The condition of the Romanian capital city's economy continues to deteriorate. The data supplied by the City Council prove a continuing decrease of production, shattering the hopes in a "freezing" of recession which still existed last October and November. The February marketable production reached the lowest level registered in the past 12 months. January and February saw investments worth only 2.1 billion lei which accounts for 38.4 percent of the investments realized the same period last year.

Although production is diminishing, paradoxically, the stocks of finished products is increasing. Stock growths are registered in the metallurgical and machine building industries, electronics and electrical engineering.

The drop in production reflects in the offer to the home market. In the first months of the ongoing year Bucharest's units delivered 9.6 billion lei worth of commodities, with few exceptions—meat preparations and eggs—less than in 1990.

The involution of the Romanian economy is paralleled by a growing unemployment following the reduced activity or the closing down of energy-consuming productive units. The number of people employed at the end of February was 396,027, 38,163 less than at the end of February last year. Productivity per employee dropped by almost 9.5 percent in the first two months of 1991 from the same period in 1990.

Civic Alliance Views 'Hasty' Treaty With USSR

AU0204201491 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Mar 91 p 7

["Protest" issued by Civic Alliance; place and date not given]

[Text] The Bucharest branch of the Civic Alliance protests against the hasty formulation, without informing the public, of the accord concluded between Romania and the USSR. As long as Romania has been an independent and democratic state, it has had some initiatives in the foreign policy area aimed at preserving the rights of nations in Central Europe and in the Balkans. Upon whose initiative and on what terms has the current treaty been concluded?

Given the fact that the previous treaties concluded between Romania and the USSR in the wake of World War II were to Romania's disadvantage from every point of view, it was absolutely necessary for the current draft treaty to be published to avoid any kind of suspicion—no matter the nature—in connection with its clauses. The haste with which it has been concluded raises big questions about its opportuneness and clauses. We demand that, before being signed and ratified, this treaty be fully published and that it be stated whether it includes secret clauses or not and with explanations as to its opportuneness.

Iliescu, Roman Receive Belgian Parliamentarians

AU0204190791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1991—President Ion Iliescu received, Tuesday, the delegation of the Belgian-Romanian Friendship Group headed by the group's chairman, Senator Karel Vershueren.

During a several-day tour of Romania, the delegation visited Bucharest, Brasov, Ploiesti, Sibiu, Tirgu Mures, where they exchanged opinions on social, economic and cultural matters with local officials.

The talks the guests have had with Romanian parliamentarians were devoted to the principles of Romania's new constitution which they considered as modern and in consonance with the contemporary trends. They expressed the opinion that the reconstruction process Romania is facing now calls for the cooperation of all political forces apt to keep up the democratisation effort.

Both sides stated their wish to continue the action "Villages Roumains."

The Romanian prime minister received, Tuesday morning, the delegation of the Belgium-Romania Parliamentary Friendship Group, headed by its chairman, Senator Karel Vershueren.

The talks were focused on the extension of the cooperation between Belgium and Romania in all fields and in the democratisation process of Romanian society.

Chetniks Reportedly Ambush Two Police Patrols

LD0204142591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Excerpt] According to the statement of the police administration chief in Vinkovci, last night some of Seselj's [Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian National Renewal Party] armed volunteer Chetniks moved into the village of Borovo. In Borovo, the most critical place, two police patrols were surrounded and five policemen were injured, one seriously. [passage omitted]

Chetnik Leader, Supporters Visit Vukovar

LD0204152291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1428 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] The head of the Osijek police administration has said that the situation is calm on the territory of the eight communes in Slavonia and Baranja that are under the jurisdiction of the Osijek police administration. There are barricades and armed sentries in the villages, however, that are mainly inhabited by Serbs in the neighboring communes of Vukovar and Vinkovci.

Attempts are being made to talk and reason with citizens to persuade them to remove the barricades and the sentries. It was said that if this does not produce results, measures foreseen by the law may be taken.

It was also announced that Chetnik leader Vojislav Seselj and a group of armed supporters visited the Vukovar area late last night.

Boljkovac told newsmen that members of the standing Croatian police were arriving at Plitvice to replace those of the special police force and set up a police station in the national park.

Early reports from Plitvice said that members of the special police force at Plitvice have been replaced by 90 policemen from the standing police corps from Gospic, the nearest major town.

Boljkovac announced he would soon visit Knin, the centre of Serbian autonomous region Krajina which is not recognized by the authorities in Croatia, in the territory of which Krajina is located. Yesterday Krajina made a decision to join the Republic of Serbia.

"Before long we shall arrive in Knin. First to hold talks and seek accord, but in case this won't do we shall, in the long run, apply force too," Boljkovac told reporters.

Serbian Assembly Adopts Crisis Declaration

AU0204182891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] We have just received a report from the Serbian Assembly that they have adopted a declaration on the peaceful outcome of the Yugoslav crisis. Let us hear what this declaration contains.

The declaration states that the [Serbian] Assembly resolutely protests the Croatian Republic authorities' use of force against the Serbian people in the commune of Titova Korenica, where blood was shed on the great Christian holiday of peace, Easter.

At the same time, the [Serbian] Assembly wants the crisis of the Yugoslav state community to be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. It is also categorically opposed to the use of force that hinders the resolution of the crisis. The [Serbian] Assembly demands that the SFRY Presidency, as well as the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, prevent interethnic armed clashes and a civil war in Yugoslavia.

The declaration, which was adopted by the [Serbian] Assembly this evening, also stresses that the decision of certain authorities of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem is the consequence of Croatia's failure to make it possible for the people to express their will through a referendum at the time when Croatia, violating the federal Constitution, proclaimed its decision to declare itself a sovereign state.

The [Serbian] Assembly demands that the appropriate entities of Croatia immediately withdraw all Ministry of Internal Affairs forces engaged in the Plitvice area and to guarantee that they will not use force against the Serbian population.

Serbs Volunteer To Bear Arms in Krajina

LD0204144891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1405 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, Apr 2 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the internal affairs service of the Serbian autonomous region Krajina Milan Martic said today he had a list of persons capable of carrying arms which contains the names of 10,000 men from the territory of Krajina.

Martic told reporters of TANJUG and Belgrade VECERNE NOVOSTI daily that this list was not final because Krajina citizens were still applying as volunteers.

The Serbian autonomous region of Krajina was proclaimed in the predominantly Serbian-populated parts of Croatia. The Croatian authorities do not recognize the legitimacy of Krajina and its citizens.

Volunteering of Serbs in Krajina results from last night's promise made by Martic that arms would be distributed among them. He also asserted that President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic had promised he would send out arms to Krajina.

Krajina yesterday proclaimed its joining Serbia. So far the Serbian authorities have not commented on this move of Serbs in Croatia.

This development ensued after members of the Croatian Interior Ministry and those of the Krajina internal affairs service clashed at Plitvice on Sunday, killing two and wounding 12 people.

Martic [word indistinct] today that the Krajina internal affairs service had suggested that the conflicting sides should exchange those [word indistinct], but it received the answer that there was no reason for an exchange since this was not a state of war.

Peace, Order Restored in Plitvice National Park

LD0204140291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, April 2 (TANJUG)—The entire special unit of the Croatian Interior Ministry had to withdraw from Plitvice by noon (10:00 GMT) on Tuesday, Interior Minister of the Republic of Croatia Josip Bolujkovac has said.

The Yugoslav Defence Secretariat has advised the Yugoslav Presidency, which is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, to set a deadline until 3 p.m. local time (13:00 GMT) for all police forces sent to the Plitvice area to withdraw.

Plitvice, a national park in central Croatia, was on Sunday the scene of clashes between Croatian Interior Ministry forces and the police of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, in which two persons were killed and 12 wounded.

The Croatian authorities do not recognize the autonomy of Krajina, largely populated with Serbs.

Speaking at the just ended press conference here, Boljkovac said that order and peace have been restored in the area of the Plitvice national park, which was the objective of the action of some 300 members of the special force, who on Sunday penetrated Plitvice after Krajina police arrived there two days earlier.

Knin Council Seeks Federal, Serbian Protection

LD0204174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—The executive council of Knin Municipality calls on federal and Serbian authorities to provide full protection and security guarantees for the Serbian people in both Krajina and Croatia.

This request is contained in a statement from the session, held today behind closed doors, of the executive council of Knin Municipality. The statement goes on to say that "the Serbian people in Croatia has been exposed to unprecedented and futile pressures and terror on the part of the Croatian authorities."

The Knin Municipality Executive Council calls on the Serbian people "by its exceedingly wise and rational behavior to persevere in its decision to live in a single state of the Serbian nation."

The statement goes on to stress that the municipality was faced with a total economic and financial blockade on the part of the Croatian authorities; this is yet another in a whole series of mistakes committed by Croatia that cannot be corrected.

The executive council, therefore, calls on all "social and economic subjects on the territory of the municipality to exercise rationality in their businesses and to exercise restraint given the present difficult conditions for economic activity and business."

According to the statement, the executive council calls on the citizens "to exercise understanding in the efforts to resolve their vital interests through the institutions of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina and Knin Municipality."

The council fully supports the decision of the executive council of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina for unification with the Republic of Serbia, the statement, issued today following the closed session of the Knin government that met to discuss current political-security situation in the municipality, stresses.

Croatian Official in Knin for Talks

LD0204175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—According to Croatian Radio, Jerko Vukas, assistant minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, is in Knin for talks with representatives of the Knin secretariat for internal affairs.

According to the same report, Yugoslav People's Army representatives have been sent to the Croatian village of Kijevo within the Knin local community to defuse the tense situation there, and apparently, the Kijevo citizens arrested by Knin militia were released this morning. It is also said that barricades on the Bratiskovci-Icevo road on the Sibenik-Knin boundary should be removed by this evening.

Disagreement With Presidency on Force Issue

AU0204180291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] We learned from the circles close to the SFRY Presidency that Vice President Stipe Mesic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman did not take part in today's extraordinary session of the SFRY Presidency. Janez Drnovsek talked to President Borisav Jovic before the session.

As we learned, the telephone conversation was extremely sharp, at moments even conflictive. Drnovsek pointed out that convening a session with only one hour's notice

was not justified, especially because an expanded session of the SFRY Presidency has already been called for tomorrow [3 April].

The Slovene representative in the Presidency also disagreed with the Presidency's new powers regarding the use of force. Regarding this he stressed that the Internal Affairs units in Croatia are under the exclusive control of the Republic of Croatia and not under the SFRY Presidency's authority.

The session of the state Presidency was interrupted in the afternoon because members Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic left for Zagreb to discuss with the Croatian leadership the withdrawal of Croatian police forces from Plitvice and Titova Korenica, as such a withdrawal could prevent the further straining of the already tense situation.

We also learned that the SFRY Presidency will continue its session at 2000. Supposedly, Vice President Stipe Mesic will also take part in it. Janez Drnovsek will travel to Belgrade for tomorrow's expanded session.

Troop Movement Reported Near Croatian Village

AU0204195291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Dusan Radulovic report]

[Text] The situation in Titova Korenica and surrounding area is changing from minute to minute. We are in a position to hear our reporter Dusan Radulovic again. Let us also apologize in advance for possible technical difficulties in hearing the report since we have just received the report.

[Radulovic] As we reported at the beginning of the newscast, the considerable amount of excitement in Titova Korenica and surrounding area was caused by the movement of Army personnel carriers that proceeded toward the village of Ljubov shortly before 1900. At the end of the column was an ambulance and we assumed, like everybody else, that something was happening in the hills; therefore, we followed the column. When we arrived there we were unable to get any information from the members of the Yugoslav People's Army, but we spoke to an officer of the special police of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs who made a statement for the listeners of Belgrade radio. The recording is not edited and we apologize in advance.

[Radulovic] Can I introduce you as one of the leaders of the group from the Ministry of Internal Affairs stationed in this area?

[Officer] Yes.

[Radulovic] Could you briefly tell us what was happening here and what the reason for the excitement is?

[Officer] You see, in this area we had attacks by members of the Serbian Democratic Party, by mainly useless people, drunkards....

[Radulovic] Did this happen now, today?

[Officer] Yes. And recently. They are mainly tramps who got weapons and simply opened fire on us and two military vehicles that we were protecting.

[Radulovic] Were there any casualties?

[Officer] Not on our side. I do not know about the other side.

[Radulovic] Was anybody arrested?

[Officer] We discovered a group of people with explosives around [place name indistinct].

[Radulovic] How many people.

[Officer] Four people.

[Radulovic] My colleague wanted to know which military vehicles were attacked, personnel carriers or (?the ones for intervention)?

[Officer] [words indistinct]

[Radulovic] They were only passing?

[Officer] They were only passing and we protected them. We were all under attack. [conversation interrupted by officer talking over walkie-talkie]

[Radulovic] Could we say that [word indistinct] and cooperation between....[interview again disrupted by walkie-talkie conversation]

[Officer] You know, concerning cooperation, the Army is basically just here and nothing else. It is virtually neutral. If its role is to maintain peace and order, if it is to carry out its constitutional role then it should defend the country and not interfere in the affairs of the internal affairs services. In some areas it is hindering us and we cannot fully carry out our duties. Otherwise, our forces are capable, well equipped, and trained so we can control entire territories in Croatia. We are talking about groups of people who are failures, who took to wandering and are vagabonds.

[Radulovic] This is what the leader of a unit of special police told us on a hill near Titova Korenica. Our listeners can themselves assess the tone of these words and the way he spoke about the local people who, despite what is thought about them, live in great uncertainty and try to defend their integrity and the integrity of this territory.

Croatia's Concessions, Demands Voiced

LD0204193691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—In its main news bulletin this evening, Croatian television reported that talks between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and two members of the SFRY Presidency in Zagreb were also attended by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesice, and Croatian Government President Josip Manolic.

"Croatian President Franjo Tudjman did not accept a decision passed by the incomplete Yugoslav Presidency on the withdrawal of the Internal Affairs Ministry units from the police station at Plitvice," Croatian television said. "Croatia will, in this way, persevere in safeguarding its right to defend its territory and to implement, in a sovereign way, its constitutionally based laws and decisions. In the talks Croatia's representatives, however, made no concessions. Croatia is prepared to delay for several days its actions to restore normal traffic on the roads and communication lines between southern and northern Croatia that are at the moment blocked as a result of terrorist activities by so-called Knin Krajina. In return, Croatia expects the Yugoslav Presidency to denounce the illegal and anti-constitutional decision providing for the creation of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina."

Croatian Council Rejects Police Withdrawal

LD0204204191 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] The 16th emergency session of the Council of the National Defense and Protection of the Constitutional Order of the Republic of Croatia, presided over by President Franjo Tudjman, took place this evening. The Council considered the latest political situation following the statement of the Information Service of the SFRY Presidency of 2 April on the ultimatum for the withdrawal of the police forces stationed at the Plitvice Lakes, and the proposal of SFRY Presidency members Vasil Tupurkovski, Bogic Bogicevic, and Momir Bulatovic, who were received during a break in the session of the Council by Republican President Franjo Tudjman. Present at the talks were President of the Croatian Government Josip Manolic and SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic. The Council concluded that the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs police station at Plitvice is necessary for the preservation of order and peace and the legal order in the region after the withdrawal of the special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The stationing of police at Plitvice or anywhere else on Croatian territory is the sovereign right of the Republic of Croatia.

The Council therefore firmly stated that the Republic of Croatia cannot accept the proposal that it should withdraw the police station at Plitvice, which would supposedly enable the SFRY Presidency to adopt a decision on the unconstitutionality of the establishment of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina [SAOK] and its annexation into the Republic of Serbia. As a gesture of goodwill, the Council recommended that the action of the police force to reestablish legal order in Knin and elsewhere on the territory of the Republic of Croatia where the legal order has been violated should be temporarily postponed to continue efforts to reestablish the legal order by peaceful means.

Serb Assembly Pledges Support for Croatian Serbs

LD0204204591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—The use of force against the Serbian people in Croatia makes the leadership of the Republic of Croatia exclusively responsible for the further development of events. This is stressed in the declaration on "A Peaceful Solution to the Yugoslav Crisis, Against Civil War and Violence" adopted tonight by the Serbian Assembly after an eight-hour closed session.

The Serbian Assembly expresses its resolute dismay at the use of violence by the Croatian authorities against Serbian people in Titova Korenica municipality, when blood was shed on Easter Sunday, a great Christian feast day, the declaration stresses.

The Serbian Assembly is working persistently for a peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis in the Yugoslav community and is categorically against the use of force that frustrates a genuine resolution of this crisis.

The declaration asks the SFRY Presidency and the staff of the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces not to allow intranational armed clashes and civil war in Yugoslavia and not to allow violence to be used by any side in the solution of the interethnic abd interrepublican conflicts because these would be the quintessential conditions for a peaceful and democratic end to the Yugoslav crisis.

The decision taken by the appropriate authorities of the Krajina Serbian Autonomous Region, Slavonija, Baranja, and western Srem and the reaction of the Serbian people as a whole, is a consequence of Croatia's refusal to allow the people to express their views via a referendum, in a situation when Croatia, violating the Yugoslav Constitution, has proclaimed its decision to establish a separate and sovereign state in which the fulfillment of the national, civil and other rights of members of the Serbian nation are vitally infringed.

In the light of this, the declaration stresses, the People's Republic of Serbia and all its state services will give necessary assistance and support to Serbs in Croatia.

The preservation of Yugoslavia is of particular importance to the Serbian nation, the declaration reiterates, since it offers the chance to live undivided and to

exercise its legitimate national interests. It is at the same time the Serbian nation's historical right to live in a single democratic state and this must be observed in any of the versions for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Proceeding from the principle of equality for all members of the Yugoslav community, the Serbian People's Assembly considers as inalienable the right of each of the Yugoslav nations to self-determination, including the right to secede. This right can be exercised only on the basis of a referendum conducted among each of the nations and on the basis of identical rules for all Yugoslav nations.

The declaration calls on competent authorities in the Republic of Croatia to withdraw all its internal affairs forces deployed at Plitvice immediately and to guarantee that violence will not be used against the Serbian population.

The SFRY Presidency is called upon, in line with its constitutional functions, to deploy the Yugoslav Peoples Army units in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, Slavonija, Baranja and West Srem and in all localities with a Serbian population until a political agreement is reached on how to resolve the existing situation.

The Serbian People's Assembly also insists that the SFRY Presidency complete the initial talks between the presidents of the Yugoslav republics on peaceful solutions to the Yugoslav crisis with the respect for all guaranteed human and civil rights.

The Serbian People's Assembly advocates contacts between inter-legislative groups as a way of discussing all issues of importance for resolving the Yugoslav crisis peacefully.

All Members Attend Resumed Presidency Session

LD0204204791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 April 91

[Text] We have just received news that after a several-hour break in its hastily summoned session today the Yugoslav Presidency resumed its work at about 2030, but this time all members are present. Slovenia's representative, Janez Drnovsek, arrived from Ljubljana for the evening session. The Sunday incident in Plitvice is the item being discussed. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, and federal secretaries for national defense and internal affairs, Veljko Kadijevic and Petar Gracanin, respectively, are also attending. As we said a little earlier, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic, who had left for Belgrade tonight, is at the session.

Mesic, Manolic Hold Talks in Osijek

LD0204214691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Osijek, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—During a meeting closed to the public in Osijek this afternoon, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic and Croatian Government President Josip Manolic held talks with the most senior representatives of the biggest municipality in Slavonija and Baranja. The municipality is the traditional center of the region.

Of course, the talks referred to the current political events. Before that, also in a closed meeting, Mesic and Manolic, and also Ivan Vekic, president of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croatian Assembly, had talks with the municipal leadership of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Osijek that were partly tied up with the reconstruction of the Osijek Government.

After the meeting in the municipal assembly, Manolic told the journalists that the reason for their arrival had been "to be briefed on the situation in the Oskjek area. I think that our assessment is totally positive," said Manolic.

"Here we encountered the unanimous assessment of the people we talked to, both in the HDZ party and in the municipal structures, that they are ready to defend the integrity and the independence of our Croatian state." [passage omitted]

"We note with pleasure that there are still no riotous elements in the Osijek and Osijek municipality area—not to the extent that could pose a threat or cause unrest. I particularly want to stress this because both Croats and Serbs and several other nationalities live in this area," said Manolic.

Osijek Municipal Assembly President Zlatko Kramaric, also made a statement to the press after the meeting in the municipal assembly. [passage omitted]

In his statement to the press, Kramaric appealed to "the Croatian population not to let themselves be provoked, to be calm and wait and monitor what the Croatian leadership will do because one has to have confidence in legally elected bodies.

This is also a message for the Serbian people who should themselves take measures to remove foreign emissaries and other people who obviously are not interested in a peaceful life in Croatia," said Kramaric.

Military Commander: Plitvice Situation 'Calm'

LD0204215291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—The situation currently is calm, order and peace are being reestablished so everything will function as it did before the actions taken at Plitvice, Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Military District, stated this evening on Belgrade Television's second news program.

Asked what the cooperation between the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs was like, Lt. Col. Gen. Andrija Raseta said that it was "official and correct and nothing more". According to him the cooperation between the JNA and the people, or rather the sociopolitical communities, was also based on relations

that are correct, and "we are also in official contact with the municipal assembly of Titova Korenica."

Asked to comment on numerous complaints that the Army was late with its intervention, Raseta replied that it is well known that the JNA engages itself in the spirit of the Constitution, the law, and on the decision of the SFRY Presidency. "When the decision was made, when we were given our mission, we embarked on the execution of the mission", he added.

"The reactions in Knin are not known and I am not acquainted with them, so I am therefore not in a position to give you an answer," Raseta said in response to a comment from a Belgrade television reporter that there were demonstrations in Knin and considerable dissatisfaction that the Army did not come out earlier.

At the end of the talks, the deputy commander of the Fifth Military District confirmed that the Army had so far had no problems as far as the execution of the mission was concerned. "We are calling for the decisions of the SFRY Presidency to be implemented and they will be implemented," Raseta concluded.

Serbian Ministry Contradicts Croatian Account

LD0304024291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2044 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—Regarding the statement by Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac during his news conference that he had consultations before the security forces movement to intervene in the Plitvice Lakes area, including with Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, the Information Service of the Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry stated tonight that at the time of the incursion of Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] forces in the Titova Korenica municipality area, Radmilo Bogdanovic was not in Belgrade; in fact he was in Svetozarevo.

He was first informed of this tragic event by his assistant 30 minutes after the clash between MUP forces of the Republic of Croatia and the militia of the Knin Secretariat of Internal Affairs. He kept abreast of the further course of developments together with his associates from the Internal Affairs Ministry in Belgrade. He had no contact of any kind with Minister Boljkovac until 2200 hours. A telephone link with him was established after 2200 hours per the clash between the inhabitants of the village of Borovo and a police patrol of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry.

Minister Bagdanovic informed Minister Boljkovac that the citizens had freed [as received] the police patrol without using any force, turning them back outside the village. Regarding this, he asked Minister Boljkovan not to send security forces into that area in view of the unrest of the citizens of Serbian nationality as a result of the events in Plitvice, because an armed clash between members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry and the citizens could then occur; and Minister Boljkovac accepted that, the statement says.

Titova Korenica 'Quiet'; Defense Council Meets

LD0304095591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Titova Korenica, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—According to local citizens, the night in Titova Korenica passed relatively quietly. There is no indication at the moment that there have been any incidents in the area.

Employees of Plitvice public enterprises went on strike for one hour this morning "in protest of the Croatian government actions," according to their statement. This strike, they say, also represents support for the people in the area. The statement goes on to stress that the workers fully support the transformation of the Plitvice enterprise from a socially owned enterprise to a public enterprise. The change of this collective's status was the immediate reason for the latest events in Plitvice and in Titova Korenica.

It is understood that a session of the Titova Korenica National Defense Council is in progress. The security situation in the municipality and the decision of the Krajina Serbian Autonomous Area Executive Council on the mobilization of territorial defense and reserve militiamen are being discussed during this closed meeting. A statement is expected later.

Armored Vehicles, Tanks Move Toward Djakovo

LD0304105291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Yugoslav People's Army armored vehicles and tanks moving this morning from Osijek in the direction of Djakovo caused great alarm among the citizens. The Osijek garrison command refused to give any explanation to Croatian Radio Studio Osijek journalists.

Representatives of all parties operating in the municipality, with the exception of the Serbian Democratic Party, have met the deputies in the Vukovar Municipal Assembly and its deputies in the Croatian Assembly. The assessment they made was that the political and security situation is similar to that prevailing yesterday. Representatives of the Croatian government, led by Slavko Degoricija, assistant minister of internal affairs, are expected to arrive in Vukovar for talks at about 1700 today.

Vinkovci Residents Protest Army's 'Provocations'

LD0304121291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Summary] A Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] military equipment convoy of about 30 tanks is moving in the

direction of Zagreb via Vrpolje with Bosanski Novi as its final destination. It passed through the Vinkovci railway junction between 0800 and 0900 this morning. After the convoy passed we were told by Josip Peci, Vinkovci Municipality National Defense Secretariat secretary, that for all intents and purposes the Vinkovci passenger railway station is occupied. About a dozen JNA armored combat vehicles were seen. We have not been notified of their presence previously, as is usual, either by the National Defense Secretariat or the police department.

As a result traffic was interrupted on Andrija Hebrang and Ante Starcevic streets. A large group of citizens protested against these flagrant provocations that certainly were not meant to facilitate the passage of the military transport, as subsequently announced by the Djuro Salaj barracks command in Vinkovci. Armored vehicles stayed there for about an hour and a half and when they returned to Vukovar, from where they had come, tear gas was used, although there was no valid reason to do so.

People are still gathering at the Vinkovci station protesting indignantly. According to Peci the reason for this flagrant provocation and demonstration of military might was to provide encouragement for Chetnik terrorist actions in parts of Vinkovci and neighboring Vukovar municipalities, which have been quite frequent recently.

Detainees Released; Barricades Down in Knin Area

LD0304122491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—There are no longer any detained civilians or road barricades in Kninska Krajina. After a meeting last night of Jerko Vukas, deputy internal affairs minister of Croatia; Knin Municipal Assembly President Milan Babic; and Milan Martic, head of the Krajina internal affairs secretariat, all civilians detained in the Croat village of Kijevo and citizens held by the inhabitants of the nearby Serbian villages of Civljani and Cetina were released this morning.

The fate of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry policeman and the members of the Krajina militia, captured during recent clashes at Plitvice, remains uncertain despite the fact that the issue was discussed at last night's talks.

Milenko Zelembaba, head of the Knin militia, has said that all roads in the Kninska Krajina area are clear today and that the last of the barricades near Kijevo and Civljani on the Knin-Vrlika road have been removed.

According to Tomislav Trajcevski, commander of the Knin corps, a military unit from the Knin garrison will remain deployed in the area with the sole purpose of preventing interethnic clashes.

Peace was disrupted in Knin again last night. Just before dawn explosions destroyed two shops belonging to Croat nationals.

Dalj Police Station Attacked by 500 People

LD0304143191 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] At 1430 today TANJUG learned from Josip Rajhl Kir, the head of the Osijek police headquarters, that the police station in Dalj was attacked. About 500 people are still outside the police station in this village near Osijek with the majority Serbian population. According to Rajhl, the citizens have set an ultimatum for the release of three Dalj citizens now in detention in the Osijek police headquarters. All three were arrested last night because they were found armed—one with a rifle with a bayonet attached and the other two with guns. The three were part of a group that was given arms last night.

Josip Rajhl was adamant that the police staion in Dalj would be defended despite the complex and critical situation caused by the fact that the people outside had already broken windows. We cannot, because of the threats from the masses, release terrorists from prison, Reich said.

Titova Korenica Councils Issue Ultimatum

LD0304144491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Titova Korenica, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—The National Defense Council and the Executive Council of Titova Korenica today addressed an ultimatum to the SFRY Presidency requiring the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs police forces unconditionally and without delay to leave the territory of their municipality. The deadline is midnight tonight.

In case of noncompliance with this demand, the SFRY Presidency will bear the responsibility for all the consequences that may ensue, says the letter to the state presidency signed by National Defense Council President Dr. Bosko Bozanic and Executive Council President Stevo Ognjanovic.

In the assessment of these two municipal bodies, adopted during today's closed session, the attempt to set up a police station at Plitvice had tragic consequences and in the future such attempts could be a constant source of conflicts with unforeseeable consequences.

The letter denounces the occupation of Plitvice public enterprise buildings. Untruths about bandit attacks and other forms of threats to the guests, especially foreign guests, are denied. We consider the presence of Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry forces at Plitvice to be an occupation of parts of Titova Korenica municipality, the letter states.

Two Serb Democratic Party Members Released

AU0304153891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] Goran Hadzic and Borivoje Savic, president and secretary of the Communal Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party in Vukovar respectively, have been released from detention. They had been under detention since 31 March. We were told this by Borivoje Savic's wife immediately before this program. Let us recall: releasing Hadzic and Savic from prison was one of the conditions for holding talks with representatives of the Croatian government on the events in the region.

National Communist Party Issues Platform

LD0204223791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—Editorial officers in Pristina were today handed the platform of the Yugoslav Communist Party [Komunisticka Partija Jugoslavije—KPJ] calling for the establishment of an anti-fascist front of Yugoslav peoples. On behalf of the "KPJ Central Committee" the platform was signed by its organizational secretary, Branko Boskovic, one of the participants in the "Bar Congress." Those implicated in the congress were given prison sentences ranging from 10 to 15 years.

Set up in 1974 as "The new KPJ," the Yugoslav Communist Party resumed its activity a few months ago and has now, as "the successor of the Communist Party liquidated in 1948," made itself heard with the publication of its platform.

Drawing attention to "nationalist hordes and neo-fascist forces whose aim is to break up Yugoslavia," the KPJ deems it its duty to call on all democratic, freedom-loving, and Yugoslav-oriented citizens to align themselves in "the anti-facist front of national salvation."

The invitation, the platform says, has been addressed to all parties and citizens, regardless of their national, party, and religious membership, stressing that they should all keep their individuality and free expression of their will coupled with respect for differences based on democratic principles.

Federal Commission Draft on Republic Relations

LD0204203191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1841 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, Apr 2 (TANJUG)—The Constutional Commission of the federal parliament today formulated a draft declaration on the new organization of relations in Yugoslavia that should ensure a legal, peaceful and democratic agreement on the future of Yugoslavia.

As set out at a Constitutional Commission session, the declaration is political and not constitutional in nature. It will soon be proposed to the federal chamber of the Yugoslav parliament and the parliaments of all Yugoslav republics for adoption.

Under the declaration, all political factors in the country would pledge to respect the country's current constitution and federal laws, the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and all republics, the inviolability of internal borders and the right of nations to national entity and self-determination until an agreememnt on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is achieved.

The Constitutional Commission reached an agreement to work out, apart from the declaration, a special constitutional act on the organization of relations in the Yugoslav community.

The members of the Constitutional Commission disagreed over the principle of the inviolability of internal borders in the discussion on the draft proposal.

Those in favour of the federal option (Serbia and Montenegro) believe that the internal borders are administrative and that they are inviolable only if Yugoslavia survives as a community of federal states. However, the representatives of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia maintained the stand that the priciple of the inviolability of [word indistinct] (republican) borders must be valid not only up until an agreement on new relations in Yugoslavia is reached but regardless of the results of the agreement. According to them, the principle of the inviolability of internal borders is an "axiom that is valid both if Yugoslavia survives and if its republics break up".

The alternative proposal is an integral part of the draft declaration on the organization of new relations in Yugoslavia.

FEC President, Senator Pell Discuss Reforms

LD0304060191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic this evening received U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Responding to Senator Pell's questions, the FEC president talked extensively about the current economic and political situation in Yugoslavia. He stressed that for the further realization of the program of reforms in addition to the measures the government will take in the coming period, concrete support from the developed countries and international financial institutions—especially in the framework of the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club—is essential.

Senator Pell emphasized that the United States believes Yugoslavia will solve its problems in a democratic way through the realization of the program of reforms.

Serbia's Milosevic Meets Senator

LD0204200691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic today conferred with U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell, and reiterated in the talk Serbia's stand that "Yugoslavia should survive as a democratic state community of equal Yugoslav nations who want to live in it."

Milosevic said that "any change in Yugoslavia's state order would be possible only on the basis of the freely expressed will of each of its nations in a referendum," as a statement released by the Serbian president's office today said.

Serbian President Milosevic set out that, before any of the Yugoslav nations exercise their right to self-determination, including to secession, "the issue of mutual borders must be regulated, based on respect for the national, cultural, historical and other interests of each Yugoslav nation."

The nations who express their will to continue living in a Yugoslav democratic state community should be allowed to realize this right undisturbed, Milosevic said.

Pell expressed interest in the exercise of human rights in Yugoslavia and Serbia, and especially in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, it was announced.

The province, whose majority population is predominantly ethnic Albanian, is part of Serbia.

Pell was informed about the constitutional provisions under which Serbia guarantees equal rights and freedoms to all citizens and full national equality, said the statement.

Milosevic and Pell assessed that the Serbian and U.S. nations cherish additional friendship and that Serbia and the United States successfully cooperate within the overall Yugoslav-U.S. relations, the statement added.

No Evidence of Serbian Paramilitary Units

LD0204165691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 2 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Secretariat For National Defense today said it did not possess any evidence about the existence of para-military formations in the Republic of Serbia.

In a reply to a question raised in the federal parliament, the federal secretariat for national defense said it did not possess evidence about any additional engagement of reserve policemen in the region of Sandzak and the Province of Kosovo in Serbia.

The federal secretariat specified that the government of Serbia was competent to clarify the decision on the engagement of additional reserve policemen in the republic.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic announced in mid-March that he had ordered the mobilization of the reserve security forces of the republican interior ministry and the formation of additional republican police forces.

In his statement in connection with the resignation of Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic, Milosevic explained that the decision was necessary because of the situation in Sandzak and Kosovo, in the south of the republic.

One of the reasons why Jovic had handed in his resignation, which was subsequently turned down by the Serbian parliament, was that the federal Presidency's decision on the disarming of para-military units had failed to be carried out.

Serbian Opposition Calls For No-Confidence Vote

LD0204202891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 2 (TANJUG)—A group of deputies of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the strongest opposition party in the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today called for a vote of no confidence in the republican Prime Minister Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic and Minister of Industry Dusan Matkovic.

Explaining its motion, the group of opposition deputies said that Prime Minister Zelenovic had "presented a series of unchecked facts" in connection with an alleged intervention of security organs in some parts of the Republic of Croatia which are predominantly populated by Serbs.

The group of opposition deputies cited as another reason why republican Prime Minister Zelenovic should be denied further confidence his rejection to discuss with the parliamentary group of the Serbian Renewal Movement the office abuses of Belgrade Television bosses, who were discharged after demonstrations staged by the opposition and students in Belgrade [words indistinct] to 14.

Prime Minister Zelenovic "is not fit for his office also because he has not offered any government programme for the solution of the crisis in which the republic finds itself."

The group of Serbian Renewal Movement deputies called for a vote of no confidence in Serbian Minister of

Industry Matkovic because of "his (?hatred) for those who do not hold the same views as he does."

Minister Matovic, member of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, has been the target of fierce public criticism because he had urged Socialist Party demonstrators to have a showdown with student demontrators in Belgrade in March.

The Serbian government was criticized also by President of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Serbia Tomislav Milenkovic at a news conference in Belgrade today. Milenkovic said that the Serbian government's economic measures were not being carried out, and insisted that the government this week present comprehensive economic programme because, as Milenkovic specified, the republic was threatened "not only by strikes, but also a collapse of the economic system."

Serbia, Krajina Region Set Cooperation Agreement

AU0204200191 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 91 p 10

[M. C. report: "Cooperation Agreement Between Krajina and Serbia"]

[Text] Knin, 27 March—Stanko Cvijan, Serbian minister for Serbs living outside Serbia was visiting Knin today. After the talks in the Communal Assembly of Knin the following statement was issued for the public:

"Stanko Cvijan, minister in the Serbian government, is visiting Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Krajina. Today, at 1300 Minister Cvijan was received by Milan Babic, president of the Executive Council of the SAO Krajina, and his working colleagues. During the talks it was stressed that the visit was of an exclusively working nature and that it was aimed at reaching a general agreement on cooperation between SAO Krajina and the Republic of Serbia. In the talks that were characterized by mutual understanding they confirmed their determination to start establishing as soon as possible specific forms of cooperation in all those fields where the need for it exists. Appropriate specialists who will have the task of implementing today's and future agreements, will work on the further realization of the cooperation.

"Minister Cvijan will stay in Knin for two days."

New Serbian Assembly Committee Presidents Named

AU0204200291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 91 p 8

[B. R. report: "Presidents of Three Committees Chosen"]

[Excerpt] The Serbian Assembly Committee for Kosovo-Metohija yesterday elected Momcilo Trajkovic for its president, and Zoran Andjelkovic for its vice president. Dr. Radoman Bozovic was elected president of the Serbian Assembly Committee for Relations with Serbs outside Serbia, and Milinko Kerleta for vice president of the aforementioned committee. At the constituting session of the Committee for the Protection of Environment it was decided that Slobodanka Djordan be its president, and Jezimir Milutinovic its vice president. [passage omitted]

Slovene Legislative Delegation Visits Kosovo

AU0204154891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] A Slovene legislative delegation held talks with the leaders of Kosovo parties in Pristina.

[Mihajlovic] The talks were held behind closed doors. At the joint news conference the participants in the talks expressed mutual satisfaction with the first official visit by a delegation of one Yugoslav legislature to Kosovo Alternative parties. It was stated that the participants in the talk unanimously condemned repression in Kosovo and expressed a view that the situation in the province cannot be normalized without free elections.

Ciril Ribicic said that the anti-Albanian policy must be condemned, while Mile Setinc explained that this visit indirectly implied the recognition of the Slovene share of the guilt for the illegal replacement of Kosovo member Riza Sapundziju from the SFRY Presidency. Setinc thought that this has made a large and shameful hole in Yugoslav politics because a big nation like Albania cannot be pushed in the background.

The Slovene delegation also favored a dialogue with Albanians in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Ibrahim Rugova stressed that an agreement has been reached on a joint stand concerning a democratic solution to Kosovo problem. The talks were also attended by Sulejman Ugljanin, president of the Party of Democratic Action of Serbia, who said that the citizens of Sandzak are also subjected to repression. Ugljanin described the engagement of the Serbian authorities as a textbook case of irredentism. He tried to explain his claim by saying that this was an incredibly intricate issue.